

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—Proverbs xxi. 8, 9.

VOLUME V.
NUMBER VI.

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, APRIL, 1863.

PRICE—
ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM

CONTENTS OF THE PRESENT NUMBER.

Do not Forget Truth and Justice.....	817
Another Word to Colored Men.....	817
Why should a Colored Man Enlist.....	818
Massachusetts.....	819
The Movers.....	819
54 Massachusetts Colored Regiment.....	820
A Voice from the House of Bondage.....	820
A Reply to Frederick Douglass.....	820
The Army and the Negroes.....	821
Stand by the Government.....	822
Men of Color to Arms.....	828
"Only a Nigger".....	827
In the Senate of the United States.....	827
Lecture.....	828
Black Soldiers.....	829
Native Africans Enlisting.....	829
Leven in Aid of the Colored Regiment.....	829
The Cherokee Nation.....	830
Miscellaneous Items.....	830
The Expedition to Jacksonville.....	830
Song of Freedom.....	831
King Cotton.....	821

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY

DO NOT FORGET TRUTH AND JUSTICE.

In the mighty storm and whirlwind of trouble which now rocks our guilty land, there seems little disposition to contemplate and discuss the claims and requirements of 'order and justice'—those divine principles, eternal as the universe, the observance of which, can alone give safety and peace to individuals, or to nations. Our thoughts and our actions, by the force of one overwhelming cause, are driven almost wholly into one channel.—Mighty armies, horses and chariots, improved artillery, great ships covered with iron, men and money, brave and well drilled infantry, vast and inexhaustible munitions of war, energetic and skillful generals, favoring weather and tides, tremendous battles and great victories for the Union cause, are now the all-engrossing thought of the nation. How to beat the foe, how to crush the rebels, how to end war? are the urgent questions that seem to absorb all minds and hearts. The desire for peace breaks forth for victory, victory!—and from that it falls to parleying.

Now we would not detract in the least from any one item of material power to be exerted against this atrocious rebellion. They share our thoughts and desires as much perhaps, as those of most persons. For the last five weeks we have been actively engaged in hurrying men to arms in defence of Country and Liberty, and shall continue to do so. Fully imbued with the martial spirit ourselves, we have sought to infuse the same spirit into our long despoiled and abused people. They need it for themselves and the country needs it at their hands. Nevertheless, our faith does not rest in armies or in the munitions of war. They are good as far as they go, but alas how far short they stop! They are but blind powers; they can destroy but cannot build up. They can overcome, conquer and subdue the organized physical force of the rebels, but can they reform the national heart, quicken the national conscience, root out wicked prejudices, abolish evil practices, and destroy the great moral evils which have

filled our goodly land with blood and terror? For after all, this is our great want at this hour to ensure a lasting peace and a permanent prosperity. In our eagerness to augment our physical force, we are in danger of forgetting what is infinitely more important—the claims of eternal truth and justice. We are hoping for peace through coercion and cunning—through force and through fraud.—The evidence of this crops out in the speeches of politicians, the sermons of clergymen, and in the editorial of newspapers—not only those of the recognized pro-slavery type, but those famed for high moral teachings. The mildest expression of it, is that this war is simply waged for the re-establishment of the Union—only that and nothing more. It is not for the abolition of Slavery, it is not to subjugate the South—but simply to restore the old Union. They at the same time noisily cry out, 'meet the foe, drive him back, break his power, starve him out, so that he can fight no longer.' But what avails all this, if the nation's heart shall remain as adamant, cramped with haughty pride of race, hatred of color—contempt for man as man, and the religion of the land shall yet quote Moses, and the apostles in the defence of man-stealing? What avails the putting down of the rebellion, if as Greeley suggests a return to Slavery shall be a return to Slavery—the original, vital and animating cause of the rebellion? We know not where to look for a more marked and striking example of falling from principle than Mr. Greeley exhibits when he holds out to the rebels the idea that they may still preserve Slavery, by a return to the Union—and that the President's Emancipation Proclamation shall thereby be rendered inoperative and void. The suggestion is as mad as it is base—and that it should come from such a quarter, is all the proof needed of the and prevalence of reverence for the laws of truth, justice and humanity, even in the highest circles of American influence. Coming from such a quarter, the suggestion has greater calumny than would be the loss of many battles. It is an attack on the soul of the nation. It proposes to break down the moral constitution of the nation as a means of securing a political Union. If such teaching should be reduced to practice we should bid farewell to all trust in the fidelity of rulers, and the certainty of truth of solemn promises and obligations on the part of man in authority. If the Proclamation is given up, or one letter pass away unfulfilled, we shall have swept and garnished our temple, only to have the unclean spirit, which we have attempted to cast out, return with seven spirits still more unclean, to fill it up with their foul abominations. It would make Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation a miserable trick, a glaring mockery, and its author, a snitch in the nostrils of honest men the world over. We need not ask what the poor and betrayed bondman, whose hopes have been raised to the height of freedom, would say. We need not ask what civilized men in all countries would be

likely to say of the meanness and perfidy of such an arrangement; but rather what would our own hearts say? How could we look ourselves in the face, if after having won the confidence of the poor slave by proclaiming his freedom, and secured the sympathy of the world in that we were fighting in the interests of human nature, and after having used that confidence and that sympathy to aid us in putting down the rebellion, we should revoke that proclamation and drive back the bondman to his chains? What law, what agreement, what peace, built upon such mitigated falsehood and moral rottenness could stand? A league of thieves and slaves would be worth as much as such a union. It would hardly last long enough for the builders to say it is finished.

If this war, with its terrible experience of blood and death, has any lesson for the American people it is to show them the vanity and utter worthlessness of all attempts to secure permanent peace and prosperity while disregarding and trampling upon the self-evident rights and claims of human nature. We have tried the experiment under as favorable conditions as any nation ever did, and the result is disappointment, shame, destruction, alarm and sorrow. We are but repeating the history of a long list of ruined empires and empires, which have forgotten that righteousness alone exalteth a nation, and that violated justice will surely bring destruction. Shall we never learn this lesson? How long will our moral, religious and political teachers blind themselves and mislead the people? If Slavery is the cause of our present troubles, as every enlightened man must see that it is, what can the same cause, if retained, produce in the future, but trouble? Will the thorn tree by-and-by bear grapes, and the bitter fountain send forth sweet water? Shall we never learn that whatsoever we, as a nation, shall sow, that we shall certainly reap? Whosoever now counsels peace without the abolition of Slavery in each and all the rebel States, counsels that which must bring in the future a renewal of hostilities between the North and the South. The laws of light, knowledge, justice, and common honesty would compel the counsellor in the future as they have done in the past. It behooves all men who stand forth as moral and political teachers, to take heed that they give only such counsel as will stand the test of reason and experience on this point. It is a great error, as well as a fitting insult, to send the magazine to express, and the Commonwealth, and cannot we send a single issue of Slavery remains a great evil of the world.

ANOTHER WORD TO OUR READERS.
—Let us sound our trumpet of war. We should have first on hand some that trumpet, unskilled with its notes, some black man of the South, capable of bearing arms, shall come forth, and in complete readiness to make the truth manifest, slavery and rebellion, vanquished, together in the dust. The

white-man's soul was tried in 1776. The black-man's soul is tried in 1863. The first stood the test, and is received as genuine—so may the last. The broad eye of the nation is fixed upon the blackman. They are half in doubt as to whether his conduct in this crisis will refute or confirm their allegations against the colored race. They stand ready to applaud, or to hurl the bolt of condemnation.—Which shall it be, my brave and strong heart-ed brothers? The decision of our destiny is now, as never before, in our own hands. We may lay here low in the dust, despised and spit upon by every passer-by; or we may, like brave men, rise and unlock to ourselves the golden gates of a glorious future. Depend upon it, we have no time to lose. To hold back is to invite infamy upon ourselves, and upon our children. All the negro hating vermin of the land may crawl over us, if our courage quails at this hour. He is whipped oftenest who is whipped easiest. As with individuals, so with nations and classes. It has been the fashion in this country—even in some of our Northern cities—to assault and mob colored citizens, for no other reason than the ease with which it could be done. We have it in our power to do something towards changing this cowardly fashion. When it is once found that black men can give blows as well as take them, men will find more congenial employment than pounding them. The black man, in arms to fight for the freedom of his race, and the safety and security of the country, will give his countrymen a higher and better revelation of his character. The case stands thus: We have asked the nation for a chance to fight the Rebels—to fight against slavery, and to fight for freedom. Well the chance is now given us. We must improve it, or sink deeper than ever in the pit of social and political degradation, from which we have been struggling for years to extricate ourselves. When the nationality of the United States is set in safety, in part by your hands, the whole world would cry shame upon any attempt to denationalize you.

To fight for the Government in this tremendous war is, then, to fight for nationality and for a place with all other classes of our fellow-citizens. I know that Congress has been pleased to say in deference to prevailing prejudice that colored men shall not rise higher than company officers. They might as well have passed a law that black men shall not be brave; that they shall not learn to read; that they shall not shoot straight, and that they shall not grow taller than five feet nine inches and a half. The law is even more absurd than mean. Enter the army and deserve promotion, and you will be sure to get it in the end. To say you will not go into the army until you can be a Colonel or a General, is about as wise as to say you won't go into the water until you shall learn how to swim.—When the priest told Patrick that he had prayed his father's head and shoulders out of purgatory, and a little more money was wanted to complete the work, paddy declined to give it, on the ground that if his father had been so fortunate as to get his head out, he would risk his getting his whole body out.—Pat's wisdom will be good in our case. Once let colored men be made Captains of companies, and demonstrate their capacity for such captaincy, and I will risk their upward progress. The great thing to be done first of all is, to get an eagle on your button and a

musket on your shoulder. "It is the first step that costs." Take it, and all will come right after that first step is well and firmly taken.

Some say wait till New York shall call us as a part of her quota. My answer to this objection is, that New York will be far more likely to call us if she finds us responding to the call of Massachusetts. If the call of Massachusetts shall prove a success, other States will follow her example. If she fails, visibly fails, no State will be foolish enough to follow in her footsteps. If you are in earnest, and really wish to get at the foe, you will go by way of Massachusetts, since that is the only way now open. Our first business is to make the Bay State regiment a success.

To fail there is to fail everywhere, and to succeed there is to succeed everywhere.

Do not flatter yourselves that the colored troops at the South can do our work. They cannot do it, no matter how brave and enduring they may prove themselves to be. The fact that they make better soldiers than we will be quoted against us. Their good behavior will be set to the credit of slavery, and we shall be told that while slavery elevates the character of the colored man to the level of the soldier, freedom debases him to the level of a spiritless coward. There is no mistake about it, colored men of the North; we shall either go up, or we shall go down, precisely as we ourselves shall determine in view of the demands of this hour. The day that sees the fifty fourth regiment of Massachusetts march down Broadway, composed of well drilled, well-uniformed, well-armed, well-appointed colored soldiers, under the ample folds of the Star Spangled Banner—lifting their high and orderly footsteps to the inspiring notes of "Old John Brown," singing those words with a spirit and meaning with which they were never sung before, will be the proudest and happiest day for the colored race ever witnessed in the United States. After that spectacle, colored men and women in New York will walk among their countrymen and women without asking pardon for having been born—and with a higher consciousness of the dignity of human nature.

But enough of this. I have undertaken to raise at least one company for the fifty fourth Massachusetts regiment. I am anxious to have the work done speedily. This may be hastened by the co-operation of friends in different parts of the State. Let them get together and talk the matter over and send me the names of such of their number as are willing to go when called upon. During the past week I have twice visited Buffalo, and at one meeting obtained the names of seven good looking young men—every one of whom can read and write. In Rochester I have thirteen names, my own son heading the list. A letter from Oswego assures me that eight or nine men are ready to go from there. This week I shall visit Auburn, Syracuse, Troy and Albany. If I were recruiting with advantages held out to white soldiers for this State I could raise a regiment more easily than I can raise a company under present circumstances.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

WHY SHOULD A COLORED MAN ENLIST?

This question has been repeatedly put to us while raising men for the 54th Massachusetts regiment during the past five weeks, and perhaps we cannot at present do a better service to the cause of our people or to the cause of

the country than by giving a few of the many reasons why a colored man should enlist.

1st. You are a man, although a colored man. If you were only a horse or an ox, incapable of deciding whether the rebels are right or wrong, you would have no responsibility, and might like the horse or the ox go on eating your corn or grass, in total indifference, as to which side is victorious or vanquished in this conflict. You are however no horse, and no ox, but a man, and whatever concerns man should interest you. He who looks upon a conflict between right and wrong, and does not help the right against the wrong, despises and insults his own nature, and invites the contempt of mankind. As between the North and South, the North is clearly in the right and the South is flagrantly in the wrong. You should therefore, simply as a matter of right and wrong, give your utmost aid to the North. In presence of such a contest there is no neutrality for any man. You are either for the Government or against the Government. Manhood requires you to take sides, and you are mean or noble according to how you choose between action and inaction.—If you are sound in body and mind, there is nothing in your color to excuse you from enlisting in the service of the republic against its enemies. If color should not be a criterion of rights, neither should it be a standard of duty. The whole duty of a man, belongs alike to white and black.

"A man's a man for a' that."

2d. You are however, not only a man, but an American citizen, so declared by the highest legal adviser of the Government, and you have hitherto expressed in various ways, not only your willingness but your earnest desire to fulfil any and every obligation which the relation of citizenship imposes. Indeed, you have hitherto felt wronged and slighted, because while white men of all other nations have been freely enrolled to serve the country, you a native born citizen have been coldly denied the honor of aiding in defense of the land of your birth. The injustice thus done you is now repented of by the Government and you are welcomed to a place in the army of the nation. Should you refuse to enlist now, you will justify the past contempt of the Government towards you and lead it to regret having honored you with a call to take up arms in its defense. You cannot but see that here is a good reason why you should promptly enlist.

3d. A third reason why a colored man should enlist is found in the fact that every negro-hater and slavery-lover in the land regards the arming of negroes as a calamity and is doing his best to prevent it. Even now all the weapons of malice, in the shape of slander and ridicule are used to defeat the filling up of the 54th Massachusetts (colored) regiment. In nine cases out of ten, you will find it safe to do just what your enemy would gladly have you leave undone. What helps you hurts him. Find out what he does not want and give him a plenty of it.

4th. You should enlist to learn the use of arms, to become familiar with the means of securing, protecting and defending your own liberty. A day may come when men shall learn war no more, when justice shall be so clearly apprehended, so universally practiced, and humanity shall be so profoundly loved and respected, that war and bloodshed, shall be confined only to beasts of prey. Manifestly however, that time has not yet come, and

while all men should labor to hasten its coming, by the cultivation of all the elements conducive to peace, it is plain that for the present no race of men can depend wholly upon moral means for the maintenance of their rights. Men must either be governed by love or by fear. They must love to do right or fear to do wrong. The only way open to any race to make their rights respected is to learn how to defend them. When it is seen that black men no more than white men can be enslaved with impunity, men will be less inclined to enslave and oppress them. Enlist therefore, that you may learn the art and assert the ability to defend yourself and your race.

5th. You are a member of a long enslaved and despised race. Men have set down your submission to Slavery and insult, to a lack of manly courage. They point to this fact as demonstrating your fitness only to be a servile class. You should enlist and disprove the slander, and wipe out the reproach. When you shall be seen nobly defending the liberties of your own country against rebels and traitors—brass itself will blush to use such arguments imputing cowardice against you.

6th. Whether you are or are not, entitled to all the rights of citizenship in this country has long been a matter of dispute to your prejudice. By enlisting in the service of your country at this trial hour, and upholding the National Flag, you will stop the mouths of traducers and win applause even from the iron lips of ingratitude. Enlist and you make this your country in common with all other men born in the country or out of it.

7th. Enlist for your own sake. Decried and derided as you have been and still are, you need an act of this kind by which to recover your own self-respect. You have to some extent rated your value by the estimate of your enemies and hence have counted yourself less than you are. You owe it to yourself and your race to rise from your social debasement and take your place among the soldiers of your country, a man among men. Depend upon it, the subjective effect of this one act of enlisting will be immense and highly beneficial. You will stand more erect, walk more assured, feel more at ease, and be less liable to insult than you ever were before. He who fights the battles of America may claim America as his country—and have that claim respected. Thus in defending your country now against rebels and traitors you are defending your own Liberty, honor, manhood and self-respect.

8th. You should enlist because your doing so will be one of the most certain means of preventing the country from drifting back into the whirlpool of Pro-Slavery Compromise at the end of the war, which is now our greatest danger. He who shall witness another Compromise with Slavery in this country will see the free colored man of the North more than ever a victim of the pride, lust, scorn and violence of all classes of white-men. The whole North will be but another Detroit, where every white fiend may with impunity revel in unrestrained beastliness towards people of color; they may burn their houses, insult their wives and daughters, and kill indiscriminately. If you mean to live in this country now is the time for you to do your full share in making it a country where you and your children after you can live in comparative safety. Prevent a compromise with the traitors, compel them to come back

to the Union whipped and humbled into obedience and all will be well. But let them come back as masters and all their hate and hellish ingenuity will be exerted to stir up the ignorant masses of the North to hate, hinder and persecute the free colored people of the North. That most inhuman of all modern enactments, with its bribed judges, and summary process, the Fugitive Slave Law, with all its infernal train of canting devines, preaching the gospel of kidnapping, as twelve years ago, will be revived against the free colored people of the North. One or two black brigades will do much to prevent all this.

9th. You should enlist because the war for the Union, whether men so call it or not, is a war for Emancipation. The salvation of the country, by the inexorable relation of cause and effect, can be secured only by the complete abolition of Slavery. The President has already proclaimed emancipation to the Slaves in the rebel States which is tantamount to declaring Emancipation in all the States, for Slavery must exist every where in the South in order to exist anywhere in the South. Can you ask for a more inviting, ennobling and soul enlarging work, than that of making one of the glorious Band who shall carry Liberty to your long enslaved people. Remember that identified with the Slave in color, you will have a power that white soldiers have not, to attract them to your lines and induce them to take up arms in a common cause. One black Brigade will, for this work, be worth more than two white ones. Enlist, therefore, enlist without delay, enlist now, and forever put an end to the human barter and butchery which have stained the whole South with the warm blood of your people, and loaded its air with their groans. Enlist, and deserve not only well of your country, and win for yourselves, a name and a place among men, but secure to yourself what is infinitely more precious, the fast dropping tears of gratitude of your kith and kin marked out for destruction, and who are but now ready to perish.

When time's ample curtain shall fall upon our national tragedy, and our hillsides and valleys shall neither redden with the blood nor whiten with the bones of kinsmen and country-men who have fallen in the sanguinary and wicked strife; when grim visaged war has smoothed his wrinkled front and our country shall have regained its normal condition as a leader of nations in the occupation and blessings of peace—and history shall record the names of heroes and martyrs—who bravely answered the call of patriotism and Liberty—against traitors thieves and assassins—let it not be said that in the long list of glory, composed of men of all nations—there appears the name of no colored man.

MASSACHUSETTS.

There is still but one way at the North by which colored men can honorably enter the service of their country, and that is through the Old Bay State, about the only State in which Copperheads do not live and flourish. We have been hoping to hear that New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and other States, had resolved to hurl black brigades against the rebels, but up to this time not one Northern State except Massachusetts, has boldly come up to this work. The fact is instructive, and should increase our confidence in mental culture. Prejudice subsides and the black man

attains consideration, precisely in proportion to the enlightenment and civilization of the people in any given section of the country. Massachusetts stands foremost among all the States in respect to education and civilization. She may well claim to be the birth place of the best ideas common to America. Her writers, preachers and lecturers are in request every where in the North, and her scholars known throughout the world. The South with the keen instinct peculiar to tyranny has long recognized her as the State most of all to be dreaded, whether in the national councils or on the battle-field and the South is right. She stands to-day a mighty wall of indestructable granite against all attempts to overthrow freedom and free institutions in this country. No better proof of her high enlightenment, her noble patriotism, and her unflinching moral courage, can be asked than she is now giving by organizing colored troops within her borders, and fitting them for the work of suppressing this rebellion. She can afford to be taunted and jeered now by all that is ignorant and vile in the country, for she is making history, a history which will be read to her credit and with ever-increasing admiration as the world shall move forward in the shining path of justice, mercy and civilization. She has not been the home of GARRISON, PHILLIPS, QUINCY, CHARLES SUMNER, FRANCIS JACKSON and THEODORE PARKER in vain. Her statesmen of to-day are the moral fruit of the toll of more than twenty-five years. Our own two sons, born in that State, but separated from it by fifteen years residence in the State of New York, report that on going to join, as they have done, the 54th Massachusetts regiment, that they observed a marked difference as soon as they reached her borders. They meet no ruffianly insult, no derisive calls, no scornful repulses in any of the walks of life, but were every where treated as men. In the service of such a State, on sea or on land, let no colored man who can enter, refuse to enter. Massachusetts is not only the most direct way to the heart of our slaveholding rebellion, but she is the colored man's way to the enjoyment of political and civil Liberty, in all parts of the United States. We may go to her with the utmost confidence in her sincerity, stability and ability. She is to day, morally speaking, the locomotive of the American Union, as she moves, the long train though now far behind must follow. The talk of cutting loose from her is as absurd and ridiculous as it would be for a traveller to jump from the cars going at full speed, in order to reach the end of his journey on foot.

THE MOVERS.

We learn that Mr. G. L. STEARNS who is patriotically devoting his time and talents to the work of sending men forward to join the 54th Massachusetts (colored) Regiment, is now at the *Mansion House, Buffalo*. He is in communication with his agents in all the North-Western States, and is very successful.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND is laboring in the same cause and very efficiently, we learn, in Michigan. There is an ample field in that quarter for the employment of his fine powers of persuasion, and we expect much fruit from his efforts.

Rev. J. W. LOGGON, is doing a true man's work in the same cause at Binghamton and Elmira.

Mr. STEPHEN MYERS, of Albany, is stirring up the people in that section.

We also hear excellent things of Mr. GEORGE WEIR, Jr., in the western part of our State. He was in fact one of the first to encourage the movement, having introduced a series of resolutions at a public meeting in Buffalo proposing to correspond with Governor ANDREWS as to whether he would receive colored recruits from the State of New York.

WM. WELLS BROWN, we learn, has been at work of late in New York and vicinity. The "Anglo African" nobly exerts its influence in the same direction. We believe abolitionists of all shades of opinion are now united in forwarding the filling up the 54th regiment, and before the present month shall end we hope to be able to announce that the first colored regiment from the North is armed and equipped for the war.

54TH MASSACHUSETTS (COLORED) REGIMENT.

Four or five weeks ago this regiment was a thing of speculation and doubt. With some it was an absurd and ridiculous dream, a mere Boston notion—a fire shadow of New England fanaticism, which would amount to nothing, but renewed proof of the folly of treating negroes as men. But now the 54th regiment of colored men is a living fact swelled to the dimensions of seven hundred men, and will soon be up to the letter of the law, both in number and character. Its officers, wisely enough, will have none in it but round men able to bear the burdens of soldiers' life. Men are making their way to Massachusetts with a view to enlist from all parts of the State of New York, even from Ohio and Michigan. All doubt as to raising the regiment is removed, and instead of one regiment, the idea of raising a brigade looms up. The tide now setting towards Massachusetts is largely due to the zeal, industry and efficiency of Mr. GEORGE L. STEARNS, of Boston. Moving about amongst us noiselessly and unostentatiously selecting his men here and dropping his good word there, he has rapidly spread a net work of influences over the whole West, by which men flock in scores and fifties to fill up the 54th Massachusetts regiment.

A VOICE FROM THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE.

TO MR. DOUGLASS.—DEAR SIR:—For many years I have desired to communicate with you, or rather with your paper, on a subject near and dear to us both; but hitherto there has always been a lion in the way. Now your call to the negro, to arms! to arms! is ringing in mine ear, and I cannot longer hold my peace without sin. You may deny me the privilege of speaking to my oppressed brethren and sisters through the medium of your paper, but I have prayed that you may not; and I feel that high over all, God is still God, and here upon his footstool, man is still man, that the weakest and most oppressed are His infants, nearer His tenderness and love than the self-sufficient and haughty who trample their younger brothers in the highway of life. Science asserts, and history reiterates that the black race is the youngest member of humanity's family, that its weakness is the evidence of immaturity, not lack of natural energy or vigor.

The white race has grown and prospered, and attained his prime; he has arrived at the

glory of manhood. He is ripe fruit on the tree of life; a sun in the zenith; a star on the meridian. As man, he must pass from the perfection of maturity, to the imbecility of age. As ripe fruit, he must drop from the tree, nipped by autumn frosts, and leave the sunshine, the dew and the breeze to nourish the undeveloped bud in due time, with their impartial care. As a sun in the zenith, he must roll downward toward the shade. As a star on the meridian, he must still keep moving, and leave his sublime altitude for those who are climbing up the royal road. Such are the convictions that have become a part of my soul. The Light that has penetrated like golden arrows this Egyptian darkness—the voice that has cheered me in the House of Bondage, the far off music of Eternity, bounding and blending the discords of time—The love of God neutralizing the acid of human hate—the wisdom of Omnipotence controlling the foolishness of man. O, my brothers, my sisters, in the grand fraternity of suffering souls, who have watched with me through the long, long night which at length has reached its close—you know we have seen stars shine through the darkness, and we have said to each, 'Are you the bright and particular morning star—the harbinger of joy—the herald of day? Did you arise in the East?' And they have one and all been extinguished before our straining eyes, leaving us in the rayless blackness of despair. We watched one ascend from the scaffold to the martyr's heaven, who left a trail of brightness in the firmament as it received him from our sight. His memory is embalmed; his name chiseled on the front of Futurity. We turned from the murderers, the martyr and the brightness, toward the starless East, crying, 'Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night? Will it always be dark?' And the clanking of our chains, the groans of our children, the mockings of our tyrants, were the only responses; but in the night, the darkness, the silence, God was opening the door of our salvation, with his own Almighty hand. The heart of the proud Pharaoh was being hardened that he should not let this people go until he acknowledged the power that humbled him, and gave glory to whom glory was due. And now what is the lesson of the hour? From God, not man, must we expect help in the time of extremity. From heaven, not earth, shines the morning. Christ and angels are above; hell and devils are below. Doubts and difficulties are around our feet; light and promise encircle our heads. The age of jubilee illuminates the sky like a boundless sun. Liberty, glorious in her perpetual youth, stands in the doorway of the future, beckoning us outward, onward, upward evermore. The prayer of Jesus eighteen hundred years ago is just being answered, the Kingdom is coming at last,

"With Empires' groans,
Burning temples, trampled thrones."

The slave need not fear the furnace heat of the present crisis, for he has nothing to lose but his chains; and everything in the limitless universe to gain. The Pharaohs fold their purple around them, and press their crowns closer; but flames shall consume the one, whirlwinds bear the other from their grasp. The fiat of Jehovah has been heard: 'Let my people go that they may serve me.' Never mind that Slavery was stowed away in the safest place within the ship of State, and

that they refused to hurl the Jonah overboard till they were convinced the ship was sinking, and all must inevitably perish unless the offender was given up to Divine Justice. Liberty is too priceless an Elixir to be cast down because offered in an unseemly chalice. It is not for us to say with what tools God shall chisel our destiny. It is enough for us to know that He is the Sculptor, and will give us our niche in the universe. It matters not to us that the edict of Emancipation, which would have written any mortal's name on the crest of eternity, who, eloquent with truth and burning with inspiration, would have sent it sounding over the seas, and poured it with a trumpet tone upon the air of America—appealing to God for protection—posterity for indemnification—the oppressed for aid, and hurling defiance in the face of the world, calmly have awaited the onset of hell and its legions. It matters not to us that but one mortal ever had, or perhaps ever will have, such a golden ladder set upon the earth by which to climb the skies. The loss falls not on us. The glorious Edict was issued, and though spoken in a whisper, we have heard it—the world has heard it, and it can never be unsaid. Though prefaced by an apology to Sin, and the demagogues of Satan, nevertheless it contains the precious pearl we were seeking. The casket was rough, but the gem was gorgeous. We waited patiently and in the eleventh hour deliverance came. In the words of the nation's poet,

"At the nation's hearth and home,
The justice long delayed has come."

Let us accept the priceless pearl with tears of gratitude and songs of thanksgiving. Let us testify to our joy by noble and heroic action worthy of Freemen, and while the greeting is echoed from ocean to ocean, all hail and welcome, brothers and sisters, to the royal cheer of Liberty. Let us not forget that to God alone belongs the praise, the honor and the glory forever more.

G. E. ROBINSON.

Upper Egypt, March 12, 1863.

A REPLY TO FREDERICK DOUGLASS, BY A COLORED MAN.

To F. Douglass, Esq., of Rochester, N. Y.:

SIR:—Although personally unknown to you, I trust, nevertheless, that the importance of your appeal to men of color, of the 2d instant, published in the Anglo-African, will pardon the freedom of this communication on behalf of my colored brethren, whose views, sentiments and convictions may coincide with my own, and who, although bound to this country by the ties of nativity, are not of your school as regard the present conflict, its relation to us as an outraged people, and the relation of its results to our future welfare and happiness and that of our yet hopeless posterity.

Of course, I would not dare presume to become the public exponent of the views of those who may have similar proclivities to my own, in regard to this war, its causes, its effects and its probable beneficial results to our race; but, sir, the interest of five million men, women and children should have no little claim on the sympathy of philanthropists, and especially on those who try to figure out their best destiny; and as this is an age of investigation, I think that it becomes the duty of every one of us, large or small, to examine very minutely the great issue in whose comprehensive grasp lay our destiny, welfare and future happiness.

Laying claim as we do, to common humanity, we must necessarily, as human beings, divide and sub-divide into majorities and min-

orities upon human issues—especially when such issues involve the common interest and liberty of the people whom they may directly or indirectly effect.

To suppose that, because we are a distinct complexional race, we must float on the same tide of public opinion, political or religious, would be madness and insanity of the first magnitude. This supposition, though illogical, seems to occupy a very prominent position in the American mind—so much so, that the imperious Anglo-American thinks a man must be a cook, waiter or barber, because he happens to be black!

The years of 1861, 1863, and 1862, have thrown this nation with its "appendages," ("American citizens of African descent") into a vast abyss of political confusion and social perplexities; and man, though "lord of creation" has been made to stagger before the Almighty events which those years have forced upon mankind; they have brought upon us strange, eventful days and times—full not only of portents and omens, but incidents of great moment—filled with the startling conclusions of old logic and aphorism, and the appalling fulfillment of old Puritan prophecy. Never before in the world's history have men been so actuated with a feeling of self-examination as at the present; never before have the conflicts for principle been so potent as the present conflict between heaven and hell, right and wrong, freedom and slavery. It seems as though the demon of revolution, disorder and despotism has mustered all the legions of Hades to exterminate mankind and dethrone God and humanity. But I am digressing from the point to which I desire to draw your attention.

The world is no longer blind to the grand policy which controls the activities and movements of this war. The representative men of this country proclaim to the world that this war is to consolidate the broken domain of the American Union, and to force obedience to the supreme law governing the same. This I believe to be the true policy under which this war is conducted.

The grand plea of the 'great American people' is republicanism and the perpetuity of a white nationality; this plea, sir, forms the civil, social, religious and political basis of the National Government; it is the pretext from the ballot-box to the Presidential chair. Republicanism is the family god of the American people; it is their all—their meat and bread and religion.

You are aware that the prosperity of a republic hangs entirely upon a homogeneous people; for a republic is a nation of laborers. Then, it is very obvious that to secure lasting prosperity for this Republic, it must retain its homogeneous mass—the mass which form the great body politic. If, then, this Republic forms its future basis upon a homogeneous mass, its eternal prosperity will soon take wings and fly away, and this 'land of the free and home of the brave' will move on rapid wheels to the monarchical precipice of ruin. Again, this is a white nation; white men are the engineers over its varied machinery and destiny; every dollar spent, every drop of blood shed and every life lost, was a willing sacrifice for the furtherance and perpetuity of a white nationality. If this war and its policy had been inaugurated for the formation of a mixed nationality, how vain would have been the effort of the Administration to muster one regiment in the field.

Sir, the inherent principle of the white majority of this nation is to refuse forever republican equality to the black minority. A government, then, founded upon heterogeneous masses in North America would prove destructive to the best interest of the white and black races within its limits; it would hurry on the coming new issue—white labor vs. black labor. As regards the termination of human slavery, that is no longer a question; it is now practically dead. The great overshadowing humanitarian sentiment of the world is fast banishing its lingering shadows from this land.

It is clear, then, if we take up arms to perpetuate a white nationality or a natural an-

tagonistic element, we would be knocking against our own heads and sealing the doom of posterity. Negro regiments fare very well in the old Bay State, but I fear down here in Dixie they would be as soon favored with an attack from the 'Red, White, and Blue' as from the ragged representatives of Jeff. Davis. Because, (according to your own words), the only objection white people have to us is when we appear like ladies and gentlemen. On this same principle, then, Uncle Sam's uniform on a negro would be a *risal* objection with the doughface soldier. There is already a boiling hatred in the bosom of the Northern people, which, like the burning lava of a sleeping volcano, only awaits a small pretext to explode in resistless thunders at our poor, defenceless race here in this country. We see the sad effects of this hatred already, in your abolition districts. I tell you, sir, this nation is drifting to monarchism, the masses look with ravished eyes at the receding rays of their liberty; they look at the proposed enactments of this Government as despotic measures; and ere long a heterogeneous conflict will take hold on this Republic which will drag its life to the grave of ruin.

Sir, the prosperity and happiness of our race and their posterity lay in a separation from the white race. This is a fact that cannot be controverted by history, experience, or any mathematical demonstration. Oh, that an eternal ocean rolled between the two races!

And now, sir, in closing, let me say to you, with due respect, your abolition teachings, if put into operation, will seal the doom of our destiny. We had no hand in bringing on this war; it is a war between white men, and if we want eternal peace in the future, let us go to Africa or some other sea-port, and leave the American people alone in the settlement of their own little family affairs.

I am, sir, with sentiments of respect, your obedient servant,
JOHN W. MENARD.
Washington, D. C., March 10, 1863.

The only point of any importance made in the foregoing letter, is the assumed one that the white and colored people in this country can never live on terms of equality. 'The inherent principle of the white majority of this nation is to refuse forever republican equality to the black minority.' Hence the writer would have us as he says, 'go to Africa or some other sea-port.' If we held his views we should be off to Africa or some other 'sea-port' at once. But we do not. Our views on this subject have been expressed so often and so fully that we shall not now repeat them. There is the same reason for believing that black and white races of men can live justly and peaceably together in the same country, as that they can so live in the same world. To attempt to get away from white men by going to 'Africa' or some other 'sea-port,' is as futile as an attempt to escape the light and heat of the sun. Our opponent has seen Slavery abolished in the District of Columbia, and many other changes for the better, and he will see more and greater ones before the war now in progress shall end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

Our best thanks are due and are respectfully tendered to His Excellency JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor of Massachusetts, for a copy of his Address to the Legislature of that State. We are also indebted to Hon. GEORGE LIVERMORE, for "an Historical Research." The pamphlet contains the "opinions of the founders of the Republic, on negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers." Also to Hon. CHARLES SUMNER for a paper containing the seed of black Spanish water melon: we return our thanks.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE 54TH REGIMENT.

I have received the following sums in aid of

the 54th Regiment in addition to those previously acknowledged:

Mrs. Mary E. Stearns, \$100. Mrs. William J. Loring, \$10. Mrs. R. O. Waterston, \$10. Jas. T. Allen, \$2. Miss Osgood \$3. Sergeant Stockbridge, \$1. Wright & Potter, \$10. Joseph and Thankful Southwick, \$5. P. R. and Ruth H. Merrill, \$5. Miss Henrietta Sargeant, \$5. A friend, \$2. J. B. Dow, \$10. Geo. S. Hale, \$5. Dr. Le Baron Russell, \$20. Mrs. T. C. Wales, \$10. J. A. Higginson, \$25. Wm. Crampton, \$100. Peter Smith, \$50. Fraternity Benevolent Sewing Society, \$25. E. Wright, \$5. Helen Porter, \$10. Edward Atkinson, \$10. Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, \$25. Theodore Otis, \$20. Geo. Atkinson, \$20. A. Plumer, Jr., \$25. Hon. James Savage, \$50. W. P. Atkinson, \$5. David Lee Child, \$5. J. Dean, \$5. Miss H. E. Cheney, \$1. Samuel May, \$20. Mrs. May, \$20. Also at the meeting at Chickering's Hall on Friday evening the 20th inst., the following sums, viz—Miss A. T. Q. Parsons, \$1. Anna Whitney, \$5. Rebecca Bradford, \$5. Mr. James M. Robbins, \$10. R. W. Lord, \$10. C. W. Pierce, \$4. Mrs. Littlewale, \$5. Anna S. Cowing, \$3. Walter Cowing, \$5. Rev. J. T. Sargent, \$1. Eliza Francis, \$5. M. S. Scudder, \$3. Edmund Jackson, \$10. Josiah Quincy, Jr., \$10. Prof. Agassiz, \$5. Geo. F. Garrison, \$2. Lucy B. McIntosh, \$1. Mr. Francis, \$5. H. W. Wellington, \$10. Nathl. Call, \$5. T. Burnham, \$1. Henry Pigeon, \$10. F. King, \$10. Mrs. King, \$10. Sarah F. King, \$5. Geo. P. Bradford, \$4. J. D. Crossman, \$1. Fred W. G. May, \$10. F. A. Green, \$10. Mrs. E. Whitney, \$20. B. F. Dwight, \$10. William Claflin, \$25. Hon. J. G. Palfrey, \$5. N. H. Whiting, \$2. L. H. Whiting, \$2. Mrs. O. Howe, \$25. Miss Wella, \$1. Miss Greely, \$1. J. A. Lane, \$10. E. Hamilton, \$5. Jas. Tolman and wife, \$10. Sam'l May, Jr., \$10. E. G. Lucas, \$5. Geo. W. Stevens, \$1. Ous Carey, \$2. W. R. Hill, \$2. Dan'l Davis, \$5. Geo. Bemis, \$25. J. Thompson, \$1. T. M. Hathaway, \$1. H. S. Adams, \$2. J. S. Rogers, \$1. Mrs. O. T. Jackson, \$3. Chas. Cheney, \$5. Mrs. Jarvis, \$2. J. Carleton, \$1. LeRoy Sunderland, \$2. T. Oushing \$10. W. S. Robinson, \$5. Thos. Russell, \$5. Mrs. Page, \$10. Mrs. R. H. Neale, \$5. Miss D. Weston, \$2. Lucia Peabody, \$1. Lucy Goddard, \$3. W. P. Garrison, \$2. J. Sawyer, \$10. A. Folsom, \$5. Mrs. Hudson and Miss Ware, \$5. J. S. Dwight, \$5. Otto Dresel, \$6. Anna Loring, \$4. Sarah C. Atkinson, \$1. Addie F. Norcross, \$1. Miss E. D. Dwight, \$2. J. R. Manly, \$5. J. W. Danforth, \$20. Mrs. James W. Stone, \$10. Charles H. Dorr, \$10. C. Wellington, \$10. C. W. Black, \$5. N. W. Bridge, \$5. T. H. Lord, \$5. W. P. Hordlett, \$5. G. W. Morton, \$5. W. H. Kineman, \$5. B. F. Burgess, \$5. Saml Welch, \$5. H. Loring, \$5. F. H. Henshaw, \$5. W. P. Bowles, \$5. H. S. Kimball, \$5. A. Boyden, \$5. O. H. Adams, \$3. G. B. B., \$2. Sam'l Hunt, Jr., \$2. T. H. Underwood, \$5. Sundry friends, names not given, \$130.05.—Whole amount herein acknowledged \$1426.05.

The thanks of the Committee are due to the ladies and gentlemen who so kindly furnished the music for the meeting on the evening of the 20th inst., to Messrs. Chickering and Co., for the gratuitous use of their Hall—and to Thomas G. Whytal for flowers.

J. H. STEVENSON, Treasurer.
For the Committee

12 Arch St., March 23.

THE ARMY AND THE NEGRO.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, who haile his coming as the harbinger of Freedom."—Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.

NEGRO DARING.—Port Royal, March 14.—Three slaves from the Drayton plantation, near Charleston, came with the lines to-night. In order to reach here they have made a circuit of more than 200 miles, and have been nearly a month on the way. They were ragged and filthy beyond description, being literally covered with mud and

foul dirt from head to foot; more distressing-looking objects I never saw. They have given valuable information to our Generals, which they have acted upon.

Six stout negroes left Beaufort last evening upon one of the most daring enterprises of the war, and which, if successful, will be of the greatest importance to the army before leaving this port. These negroes, upon being told what was wanted of them, although knowing that the enterprise would be attended with the greatest danger, and would require the utmost skill, volunteered their services, and upon being furnished with arms and implements immediately started upon the expedition. By to-morrow night it will be known whether they have all been killed or returned to camp successful. If any anti-Administration man is still sceptical with regard to the value of negro services in this war, I would recommend to him a trip to and a short sojourn in the Department of the South. I doubt very much if there are six white men in this Department who would have volunteered to go upon the expedition those negroes started upon last night.—Tribune.

BLACK SOLDIERS FROM FLORIDA.—*Key West, March 7.*—Quite a sturdy battalion of black soldiers was raised in this town, and a short time ago sent up to Hilton Head, S. C. Slavery seems extinct in the Key, and nearly all the colored people remaining here are the women, children and old men. The rest are off to the war. When our ship swung in to the wharf several negro and mulatto women came aboard to offer their services as laundresses. Of these, one bright young mulatto woman, of fine figure and sedate countenance, was pointed out to me by a gentleman acquainted in the place, as the daughter of a quondam U. S. Senator, now Secretary of the rebel navy, Mallory; and upon subsequent inquiry the statement was confirmed by a citizen.—Tribune.

FROM NORTH CAROLINA.—*Newbern, March 10.*—Since my previous letter I have visited some of the black settlements across the Trent, of which, in that locality, there are a number. In one I was told there are between 900 and 1,000 inhabitants, and there are several others as large or larger, all formerly slaves. These people live in huts built of split-pine sheathing, with round timber frame; the chimney composed of narrow sticks laid cob-fashion and then plastered with clay—rude but comfortable structures. They build for themselves and each other under Government direction, preserving considerable uniformity of style and method in laying out streets, etc. In these colonies may be found all ages from the wee toddling infant to the old and decrepit, who are sure they "Must be more dan a hundred, massa." Most of the able-bodied are employed by the Government, the sick and infirm are a burden borne by the same. There are many of these latter from the fact that when the secessionists find it necessary, from the proximity to our troops, to retire toward the interior, they leave that class, and the women and children, if hurried, behind.

In one of the huts a school was in progress, kept by a black man. He had thirty scholars, who he told me were learning quite fast. He himself had a very fair average education; could read, write and cypher. He had learned all this, while a slave, from a school-boy. I said, "I thought it was forbidden to teach slaves;" he replied that "it was, but after the South got the law so that they could claim a slave, no matter where he went, the masters didn't care so much if the slaves did learn to read." So, to go back to past things, the inference would seem that the Fugitive Slave bill had a home purpose to serve, in making the slaves believe that it was of no use for them to run away, as well as for its enforcement at the North.

Every day I remain in the service strengthens me in the conviction that I shall never regret enlistment, if for no other reason than for the opportunity it has afforded, from such pictures as the negro settlement mentioned

above, to get correct ideas of the work to be done, and the patience learned from positive experience.

Be it called "fighting for the nigger," or what it may, common observation here will soon teach a thoughtful man how inseparably the fate of the black man and the system of human slavery are linked with the issue, and how impossible it should be otherwise. The idea that the whole race may yet enjoy the precious boon of freedom, though we of the North were at first unwilling partners to the thought, it seems, is one of the grandest of the century, and which, one day, I can but believe all who are participants in this war, in the Union ranks, will be proud to say, "I helped accomplish," should God, in his mercy, grant success, despite the obstacles we cast in our own way, by lack of unity of purpose and action.—Tribune.

THE COLORED LOYALISTS.—The New Orleans correspondent of the Boston Traveller, after giving an instance of a preservation from danger of our troops, through the aid of a slave, says: "Every day we have some such proof of the honesty of the poor negroes, and their fidelity to our cause has saved many a Northern homestead from being robbed of a precious life. Of course we should denounce this down-trodden and abused race, and pay strict attention to the groans of their ferocious masters, who fear the revelations of their slaves may more deeply implicate them in their treasonable acts against our land. Keep up the howl of the white-livered hypocrites of the North, and the secession presses, and let us forge more chains for the slave-driver. Don't be so barbarous as to arm the negroes. Oh! no! We must not be so indiscreet."

NO NEGROES IN CAMP OVER NIGHT.—Gen. H. M. Judah, in command at Bowling Green, Ky., has issued an important order in regard to the treatment of negroes, of which the following is an extract:

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES FORCES, }
BOWLING GREEN, Ky., March 6, '63. }
Special Orders No. 74.

[Extract.]

II. In obedience to orders from Headquarters, District of Western Kentucky, dated 4th instant, commanding officers of regiments, battalions, and batteries of this command, are hereby ordered to eject from their camps, before sunset to-day, all negroes, male and female.

III. It is further ordered that hereafter no negroes will be permitted to reside in or near the camp of any of the forces of this command, in any capacity whatsoever, without a special permission from these headquarters authorizing their employment.

IV. Commanders of regiments, battalions, and batteries will be held to a strict accountability for the faithful execution of this order, and will make, or cause to be made, a daily inspection to secure it from violation or surreptitious evasion.

By order of

Brig. Gen. H. M. JUDAH.
R. O. KISS, Assistant Adjutant-General.

NEGRO DARING.—An instance of the daring of negroes in that section is told by a Lake Providence (Louisiana) correspondent of the Philadelphia Inquirer:

"Recently a black man, after several days' urgent request for a musket and rounds of ammunition, succeeded in securing his wish. He set out in the night, and by morning reached the vicinity of a rebel guard. He crept cautiously forward, but was seen and watched. Suddenly the sharp crack of rifles brought him to his feet. Before him were three rebel soldiers. He instantly brought his musket to his shoulder and fired. One rebel fell dead. The negro, by the time the bewilderment of the other two had passed off, was upon them with uplifted musket, threatening them with its immediate descent unless they surrendered at once. They acquiesced in a hurry. Leaving the dead rebel to the dogs, with the other two in tow, the negro returned to our lines and delivered them to the authorities. Since this exploit the negro has made himself useful in scouting and bringing in information."

The same story is told by an artist of Harper's Weekly, who gives a sketch of "Union Jim" and his prisoners in the current number.—Evening Post.

OLD UNCLE SAMMY'S STORY.—*Bayou Lafourche, La., March 7.*—Talking of contrabands, you should see how many wide-brimmed "loyalists" with long whips are swooping on colored agriculturalists now-a-days. Gen. Banks' late contract with the planters (wherein Sambo is a supposititious party, though precious little he comprehends of it) gives every quondam rebel proprietor a knot-hole through which he may crawl back into "mastership" again. Not a day passes without a foray of some lank cavalier on our frightened regimental employees, with his "Provost order" to return poor Jack or Phillis to her "owner." Sometimes a stout commanding officer "repudiates," and sometimes a timid one yields up the fugitive. Daily I hear of cases which smack of the old Egypt; where, for instance, a young woman is stripped by her overseer, who sits on her head, while he flogs the American flag into her back with a two-inch whiffletree strap; or where an old man of eighty is trussed up for the lash, because he foolishly gets into his white pate that the nearest road to freedom is through the lines of a Union regiment. Such was the case of old Uncle Sammy, an octogenarian, whose "short and simple annals" may be summed up as follows:

Born on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, "raised" for the Kentucky market, whereat he was knocked down to the highest bidder at the age of 15 years; worked on corn till near 30, when six piccaninies called him, sire; old story of sale again, and Sam sent to Louisiana with his wife, while their children were sold to all points of the compass, 50 years more passed on sugar plantations, and then Sam's old ears pricked up at the sound of a Northern trumpet, and he became a "contraband," "fugitive," "vagabond," or what not, as the case might be. Twice since he has been seized, "returned," and flogged by his master. This last "skedaddle" brings him to our camp, with his aged "help-meet," and I see them, as I write, toasting their thin shins at a camp fire, while washing the scars of their last lashes.

Now, this old slave of 80 winters avers that during half a century he never received from his sugar-growing owner so much as a solitary picayune for his own use, nor a single suit of clothes either in Summer or Winter. His master made it the condition of his being allowed to visit his wife, on a neighboring estate, that she should furnish him with clothing, and so she did, for fifty years. What a "Golden Wedding" the poor old couple are now enjoying at yonder camp fire, where they bathe each other's wounds in ditch water! But Sam will tell you he's contented, if we'll only promise not to send him back! Oh! this liberty! this incomprehensible affluence! how it lifts even a wretched contraband up among the heroes!—Tribune.

THE NEGRO EXPEDITION INTO FLORIDA.—The story set afloat by a Copperhead paper in New York, of the capture of Col. Higginson and his black regiment, is contradicted by authentic advices. A letter in the Tribune, dated Hilton Head, March 15, contains the following gratifying account of Mr. Higginson's success:

"The transport steamer Florida arrived this morning from Florida, with intelligence of the movements of the negro expedition under Cola Higginson and Montgomery. I stated in my last that it was to operate, after ascending St. Mary's River, through the south-eastern portion of Georgia. I knew at the time its true destination, but thought it best to deceive the enemy as to the real route it was to take by indicating a wrong one, as unexpected delays might occur and premature revelations endanger the success of the movement. Now that it is known to have got fairly under way, no harm, of course, can any longer come from a statement of its actual direction. The expedition, after completing all necessary preparations for the inland march

at Fernandina, moved up St. John's River, and on the 10th instant occupied the town of Jacksonville without meeting any resistance. There was a small body of rebel troops in town at the time of the appearance of the black troops, but they abandoned it hastily, and retreated towards the interior. The sight of the colored soldiery caused a panic among the white inhabitants of the town. They had placed confidence in the misrepresentations of the rebel press as to the purpose of the employment of negro troops by the Union government, and expected nothing better than arson, murder and rapine from them. As the long column of armed and uniformed blacks marched through the streets and took possession of the public building, there was a general scampering of men, women and children in every direction. Not a single excess, however, was committed by the soldiers, although many of them had been held in bondage in the place—which is a clearer record than our white troops usually make in hostile towns.

On the morning of the 11th, Col. Montgomery, with a picket body of 200 men, made a reconnaissance of the road to Baldwin. Some miles beyond Jacksonville, the detachment was attacked by the rebels that had retreated from Jacksonville. A lively skirmish of some duration ensued, resulting in the repulse of the enemy. Col. Montgomery, after obtaining all the information in regard to the country he wanted, and collecting quite a number of contrabands, returned to Jacksonville. It was understood that the entire force was to march upon Baldwin, distant twenty miles from Jacksonville, yesterday morning. Baldwin, at this moment undoubtedly in our possession, is the junction of the Jacksonville and Tallahassee and Fernandina and Cedar Keys Railroads, and will be a most suitable point for successful raids through the adjoining country, one of the most populous districts of Northern Florida. Further news from the expedition is looked for here, even by negrophobists, with great eagerness.

DRAFTING OF NEGROES.—The following order from Gen. Saxton shows that Gen. Hunter's plan for drafting able-bodied negroes is to be promptly executed:

HQrs. U. S. FORCES, PORT ROYAL ISLAND, }
BNAUFORT, S. C., March 8, 1863. }

General Orders, No. 17.

The Major-General commanding having ordered that every able-bodied freedman in this Department, between the ages of 18 and 50 years, who is capable of bearing arms, shall be drafted into the service of the United States, the Division Superintendents are directed to forward without delay to Capt. E. W. Slooper a complete list of all persons under this supervision who come within the provisions of that order. While assuring the colored men that a stern military necessity requires that this order shall be rigidly enforced, the Superintendents are instructed to appeal first to their reason, sense of right, their love of liberty and their dread of returning to the rule of their late masters to induce them to come forward without further compulsion, and to take part with their brothers now in arms in the great struggle which is now going on, and which, if successful for us, will secure to them their liberties.

It should not be forgotten that, aside from the elevating moral influence which will be exerted upon the character of those who fight for their freedom, the government pays them generously in addition for their services. The Superintendents will be careful to place these facts before this people in the strongest possible light.

The General Commanding expects to form a pretty correct judgment of the comparative efficiency of the different Superintendents, and the amount of influence for good they are capable of exerting over their people, by the proportion of the whole number subject to the draft which they are able to bring in without the aid of physical force.

As fast as the men are collected, they will be sent to report to Capt. J. P. Low, A. Q. M., for further orders. By command of

Brig. Gen. R. SAXTON.
STUART M. TAYLOR, Captain and Assistant
Adjutant General.
Official: S. S. STEVENS, 2d Lt. 6th Ct. Vols.
Act.-Assist.-Adjt.-Gen.

CHANGE OF VIEWS.—A letter in the Tribune from Fort Pulaski, March 18, says:—"Many of the officers admit that their views in regard to the part the negro should play in this war have changed materially within the past few months. Although not willing to serve under them, they have no objection to fighting beside them on the battle-field. As a matter of policy, they think, as do nearly all the officers in this Department, that it would be better to keep the negro brigades and divisions separate, and not merge them with the old army corps. In this way the negro can have an independent field to work upon; can demonstrate his capacity to march and fight, and if successful can have all the glory springing from the victory. One or two small expeditions are being fitted out as preliminary movements to the grand one, the result of which you will probably learn by the next mail."

PROSPECTS OF THE NEGRO SOLDIERS.—*Baton Rouge, Friday, March 13, 1863.*—The more I see of our colored regiments, and the more I converse with our soldiers, the more convinced I am that upon them we must ultimately rely as the principal source of our strength in these latitudes. It is perfect nonsense for any one to attempt to talk away the broad fact, evident as the sun at noonday, that these men are capable not only of making good soldiers, but the very best of soldiers. The Third Louisiana Native Guards, Col. Nelson, are encamped here, and a more orderly, disciplined, robust and effective set of men I defy any one to produce. An old European officer—one who has followed the profession of arms from his very boyhood—said to me to-day: "In one essential respect, sir, I believe that, in a short time, these colored soldiers will surpass any we have in our army: I mean in subordination, without which no army can be effective. We are in the habit of carrying our citizenship with us into the field, and that begets an amount of undue familiarity between officers and men that is often destructive of obedience. Toward the black man we feel none of those delicate sentiments of equality; and he, on his part, has always been accustomed to be commanded. Besides this, he is acclimated; knows the country thoroughly, and if called upon to fight, will fight in earnest; for he knows that if taken prisoner he will meet no mercy." There are many who still sneer at the idea of a colored man being able to fight, but it is only fair to state that if the latter does not give a good account of himself on the battle field, it is simply because nobody will permit him the chance of proving what he can do there. Col. Nelson, anxious to have an opportunity of exhibiting to the world what his command is capable of, and thus put their manhood beyond all question, has implored Gen. Banks to put him in the foremost point of danger in the coming struggle, and says that his men are as ready as himself to stake their lives upon the result; but the General—doubtless acting upon explicit orders—says that they must, at present at least, be confined to manning the fortifications here.

I am happy to say that the feeling toward these colored regiments, throughout the army, is undergoing the most rapid and extraordinary changes. Soldiers that—only a few months, nay weeks, ago—would have flown into a furious passion at the bare idea of a black man carrying a musket like themselves, now say, "Oh, if you are going to give them white officers, that is another affair altogether." I have conversed with officers and privates, I may say, and without exaggeration, by dozens, and I find but one feeling prevailing throughout, viz: To support the President through any and every measure to put down the rebellion. Their remark is, "Why shouldn't they stand fire as well as we?" Here and there an exception is to be found, but it is

sure to be some stuck up youth who fancies himself made of better stuff than our naval officers, who have no companions of pride in using black crews, or some cowardly fellow who is wanting some excuse to sneak out of the army anyhow.—Times.

STAND BY THE GOVERNMENT.

SPEECH OF GERRIT SMITH

IN ALBANY FEBRUARY 27 1863.

After offering the following resolution:

Resolved, That the one work of the nation is to crush the Rebellion; and whereas it can be accomplished through the Government only: Therefore resolved, that Democrats, Republicans and Abolitionists—men of all parties and men of no parties—should stand by the Government, and sympathize with it under its embarrassments, and bear its burdens, and be grateful for its fidelity, and, whilst quick to commend its wise measures should never criticize its mistakes; but in the spirit of patriotism instead of party, and but to make the Government stronger instead of weaker, and the enemy weaker instead of stronger."

Mr. SMITH proceeded to say:

I am not rightly represented in all respects. For instance, because I am an old and zealous Temperance man, it is assumed that I am for having Government take the Oath of Temperance under its wing. Whereas the theory, which I have spent so much time during the last twenty years in elucidating and commending, is that Government has nothing to do with Churches nor even with Schools, with religious institutions nor even with moral reforms; and that its only legitimate province is the narrow one of protecting the persons and property of its subjects. Hence when I would have Government shut up a dramshop, it is not because I would have it enact a sumptuary law or care in the least for the Cause of Temperance; but it is solely because a portion of the men, who frequent that dramshop, are wont to get crazed in it, and to go forth from it to perpetrate crimes against person and property. It is because that manufactory of madmen sends out one man to fire a dwelling, and another to murder a wife, and others to other deeds of mischief or horror. Then again because I am an old and radical abolitionist, it is taken for granted that I would have our struggle to put down the Rebellion, perverted into a crusade against Slavery.—Whereas ever since the Rebellion broke out I have been entreating my countrymen not to fall away to any side issues, but to consecrate themselves "arm and soul" to the one work of putting down the Rebellion. Unceasingly have I summoned them to stand shoulder to shoulder in this work, notwithstanding their differences as Democrats, Republicans and Abolitionists. To this end was my printed Letter in 1861 to Edwin Croswell. To this end have been many of my writings and speeches. With this struggle to put down the Rebellion I have from first to last been unconditionally identified. The President's blocking up of Fremont's and Hunter's Abolition way did not in the least diminish my devotion to the one absorbing purpose of putting down the Rebellion; and his Proclamation of Freedom could not increase it. Whether the Government, in its changeable measures, was now for slavery or now against it, I kept steadily on in my zeal and labor for the overthrow of the Rebellion.

Excuse the egotism of these introductory remarks. I dislike egotism, whether it be in myself or in others. But I felt that I must make them in order to get your unprejudiced and open ears. I felt that you would not respect what I have to say to you, unless I should first disabuse you of your false impressions regarding my attitude toward the Rebellion.

The way is now open for me to mention some of our duties at this crisis.

- 1st. *The Rebellion must be put down.*
- 2d. *All hands must help put it down.*

The Republicans, Democrats and Abolitionists must all help, be it at whatever risk to their respective parties. Indeed, so far as the Rebellion is concerned, they must all give up

their parties, and become one party. Outside of this one party they may still maintain old party names and old party aims. But into this new and sacred party they must bring no party interests, no party jealousies, no party divisions. In this party all must be harmony; and its members must know each other only as Americans.

I add that whilst on the one hand the Abolitionists must help put down the Rebellion not merely because it is a Pro-Slavery one—for, Slavery out of the question, they should be equally prompt to put it down—on the other hand the Anti-Abolitionists must not withhold their help because it is a Pro-Slavery Rebellion. The Democrats must be as prompt to assist in putting down this Rebellion as they would be were it an Anti-Slavery one. They know that they would lose very little time in arraying, (and that too most vindictively,) all their might against a New England Anti-Slavery Rebellion. They, who are now Peace Democrats, would then be war Democrats; and such of them, as are now the most tender to rebels, would then be the least patient with rebels.

I said that the Abolitionist must help put down the Rebellion. If any of them would not have it put down unless Slavery be put down with it or before it, they are wrong.—The Rebellion is, aside from all questions of Slavery, an enormous evil; and as such, all are bound to help suppress it, unconditionally and uncalculatingly. Moreover, in the light of a sound philosophy there is no right thing that can be damaged by ending an evil; and hence if the undertaking to abolish Slavery be a right thing nothing is to be feared for it from the suppression of the Rebellion.

I called the existing Rebellion a Pro-Slavery one. I do not forget that there are persons who find it convenient to deny it that character. The Southern statesmen, one of whom calls Slavery the corner stone of their new nation, do not thank these persons for this denial. The Southern clergymen will not thank them for it. They entirely concur with the Southern statesmen at this point. Their Bishops, in their recent Pastoral Letter, are not ashamed to avow that the Rebel States "are about to plant their national life" on Slavery.

3d. The Northern people should all admit—nay, to use a more positive and proper word—they should all **DECLARE** that the Rebellion is entirely groundless and exceedingly wicked.

None among us should any longer say that the Abolitionists provoked the Rebellion.—The saying of this goes if not to justify, nevertheless to excuse, the Rebellion; and it goes to reduce the hatred and horror of it, and also the strength of the purpose and endeavors to subdue it. I readily admit, that the Abolitionists did by their much talking and writing against Slavery greatly annoy the slaveholders. But surely this talking and writing, whether right or wrong, furnished no excuse for Rebellion. Free discussion is to be tolerated. If it is not, then the Missionaries, which our Churches have sent all over the heathen world to discuss idolatries and other forms of error, should be recalled; and then, indeed, the progress of mental and moral improvement, the earth over, should be arrested. Republicans and Abolitionists! will not you tolerate free discussion? I need not ask the Democrats whether they will. For, in the turn of things, they have become the champions of free speech. They, before whose frequent mobs against free speech I had twenty or thirty years ago to retreat and hide, have now become the loudest-mouthed defenders of free speech.

But you will perhaps say that the Abolitionists went beyond free discussion, and pushed up some of the Northern Legislatures to unconstitutional legislation against Slavery.—But even if it was unconstitutional, it certainly gave no just occasion for Rebellion. If nothing else forbade Rebellion, it was forbidden by the fact that there was the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation and to make a Decision that all would abide by. Right here, let me run a contrast between the North

and the South for the purpose of taking all possible cavil and complaint at this point out of the mouth of the South. The whole South wrote or talked for Slavery. But it was only a small portion of the North which wrote or talked against it. Most of the Northern people either apologized for it, or absolutely defended it. Again, Southern men came North, and advocated Slavery in the broadest and most offensive terms. Nevertheless these Southern visitors were treated courteously and kindly. But when Northern men went South, they were, if however slightly suspected of being Abolitionists, insulted, frequently tarred and feathered, and not unfrequently murdered. And again, whilst the North was entirely willing to have the question of the constitutionality of her Anti-Slavery legislation go to the Supreme Court, the South angrily and stubbornly refused to let her Pro-Slavery legislation undergo this trial. Such was the refusal of Charleston and New Orleans, when Massachusetts sent Commissioners to those Cities; and the Commissioners had instantly to turn homeward in order to avoid violence and death. And now, to continue the contrast, whilst the North, though under the provocation of these deep wrongs, did not rebel, nor even remonstrate, nor scarcely murmur; the South, though suffering no wrong nor semblance of wrong, has rebelled, and armed herself against the nation. Nevertheless so debauched and blinded by Slavery had the North become, that, even in the face of this contrast, there are thousands amongst us who say and scores of thousands who believe, that the North and not the South is the aggressor—that the North is the guilty injurer, and the South the injured and the innocent!

"Oh judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason!"

4th. The Rebellion must be put down unconditionally.

Government must make no conditions, and accept none. Stern uncompromising, unrelenting must be its policy until the Rebellion is suppressed. After that, the freer the play of a merciful and fraternal spirit the more will my heart rejoice. Nor must any Republicans propose a Swiss mediator, or any other mediator. Nor must any Democrats recommend the disposing of the Rebellion by a Convention or popular Assembly to be held in Nashville, Louisville or anywhere else. It is for Government, and Government only, to dispose of it. The people must not override their own Government. That is the most effectual way to disparage and destroy it. Our Government could never more be good for any thing after the people had taken the Rebellion out of its hands.—Henceforth it would be a derision both at home and abroad;—as contemptible, and probably as transient also, as a Mexican Government. Were a mob raging in your streets, would you leave it to the City of Troy to say what should be done with it? Certainly not. Nor would you, instead of encouraging and strengthen your City Government to disperse it, virtually get up another mob. This however you would do, should you, contemptuously thrusting a side your City Government, summoned the people to deal with the mob.—Yes, in that case your people would be mobbing their own Government most emphatically. Now, this Rebellion is but a mob—a mob on an extended scale; and it is as exclusively the work of the Federal Government to put it down, as it is of a City Government to put down a street mob; or of a father to put down the child who revolts against his authority.

I need not add that our Government will not tolerate Intervention, but will regard it as War;—and, this too, whether the Intervention be on the part of one nation or many nations; under the plea of commerce or humanity.

5th. The Rebellion must be put down, let the consequences be what they may to the Constitution, the Union, or even to the country.

I have not said this to startle you, but to reconcile you to it. The nation must be reconciled to it, or perish. Suppose the revolt-

ing child I referred to should say: "Father! you had better not try to put me down. It might be the breaking up and ruin of the family." How prompt and proper would be the father's indignant answer: "Family, or no family you young rascal, you shall be put down." And down he'd put him, wholly irrespective of the bearing of the transaction upon the family.—Nay, he would, as he ought to, entirely forget his family in his one absorbing purpose of subduing the rebel. Nevertheless in this forgetting of his family, he would best serve and most honor it.

Now I hold that in just the spirit of this wronged and aroused father should the American people and American Government feel and act. Thus, more than in any other wise, would America set an example full of glory to herself and of benefit to mankind. But if from her lack of an immovable resolution to exhaust herself, if need be, in conquering the diabolical Rebellion, it shall finally remain unconquered; then will America bring greater disgrace to herself and greater detriment to mankind than any other nation ever did. The lustre, which innumerable victories have shed upon the arms and name of England is infinitely less than would be that of her expending her last strength in crushing an utterly unprovoked and wicked revolt of a part of her Counties. And that high spirited nation would expend it rather than give up her Government and her boundaries. Shame to you, English rulers, that you are not willing to have this nation also maintain Government and boundaries at what ever expense or hazard! All honor to you English people, that you are coming out so bravely and so nobly against your rulers and for us at this point, which is so vital not only to us but to all mankind! And you do this too in the face of the arguments, that the giving up of our resistance to the Rebellion would give bread to your hungry ones. God bless these hungry ones for their patience and their sympathy with us, and for affording another shining instance that men of integrity "do not live by bread alone." The English masses, who have to confront aristocracy, can well sympathize with our brave armies, who have gone forth to battle with an aristocracy not less but more overbearing, and but little if any less mighty.

I add that the present is no time to talk, and get up issues and multiply divisions, about the Constitution, the Union and the country. One person may wish to have the Constitution altered, and another may not. For one I do not, and never did, wish any alteration in it. No Democratic stickler for the *Constitution as it is*, be he living or dead, has ever spoken or written as much as I have for the *Constitution as it is*. Two years ago the Democratic Party and no small portion of the Republican Party were ready for Pro-Slavery changes of the Constitution. I oppose them: but I did not ask for Anti-Slavery changes. I was entirely content with the Constitution just as the fathers gave it to us. Again, whilst one person may wish the Union modified, another like myself, may be satisfied with its present terms. And again, whilst one person may wish to have the country no larger, another may go as far as I did in Congress, and wish to have it include Cuba and all Mexico. Oh no, the present is no time to agitate, or even to mention, these questions.—There is time now for nothing else than for all of us to band ourselves together, and to determine in the depths of our souls, that the Rebellion shall go down, even though Constitution and Union and country go down with it. But some of you will tell me, that you wish to save the Constitution, the Union and the country. So do I wish to save them. There is however, only one way to save them; and that way is to forget them—to forget them in the one engrossing purpose to crush the Rebellion.

Now does all this, which I have just been saying, seem extravagant? Nevertheless it is only in the spirit of all this that the Rebellion can be overcome. It is this out-of-season talk for the Constitution and the Union all the way through the war, that has so confused

the nation, and [prevented the concentration of its interest and energies at the point which claims all its interest and energies; and that has done more than any and all things else to demoralize, debase and destroy the nation.— If the Democrats, Republicans and Abolitionists would come into a mutual stipulation not to speak for ninety days of the Constitution, the Union or Slavery, there would within that time grow up such an earnestness and unanimity in the work of annihilating the Rebellion, that it would be annihilated.

"*The Constitution as it is and the Union as it was*"—this, all the way through the War, has been the great motto, not of the Democrats only but of most of the Republicans also. I do not say that it was a bad motto with which to face the discontents, murmurs and threats that preceded the War. I do not say that it was unwise in Mr. Lincoln and our statesmen generally to continue to recognize it, in those early stages of the war, which nearly all of us hoped would not result in actual and proper war. But neither consistency nor any other consideration required them to recognize it any longer. Its effect any longer could be but to deceive and destroy. And yet, even now, when the strife has taken on the dimensions of the widest war and the character of the most horrid war, this motto is still current. Alas, what misconceptions of the hour have they who, in this life and death struggle, would inspire us with any paramount anxiety, or indeed any any anxiety, for the Constitution and the Union! And, alas, how unfitted for a part in this struggle are all they who yield themselves up to this untimely and comparatively low inspiration! I say not that it will be improper to revive this motto after the rebels are conquered. But I do say that until then it should be buried and forgotten. For until then we have nothing to think of but the Rebellion and nothing to do but to put it down.

A mobocratic spirit against the present charter and present boundaries of a City is beginning to show itself. The loyal citizens do well to meet this spirit with a motto, and to cry: "*The charter and the boundaries!*" But would not such a motto be madness after the mobocrats had already applied the torch and were already at work to reduce the City to ashes? It would be—and as emphatic madness is this prating about the Constitution and the union in this fearful hour, when the mightiest Rebellion the world ever saw has raised the question—not what will become of a paper and of politics—but what will become of our wives and children. "*Death to the mobocrats*" could be the only suitable motto in the one case, as "*Death to the rebels*" is the only suitable one in the other.

Oh no! this is not, as it is still claimed to be by the designing and the deluded, "*a War to maintain the Constitution and restore the Union.*" In its beginning it may have been proper to call that the issue. But it is no longer so, now that the Rebellion has reached its present proportions, and is so full of peril to the very life of the nation.

In this connection I would rebuke the frequent question—whether we mean to subjugate the Southern States. Until the Rebellion is subdued we mean to do nothing but subdue it. After that will be soon enough to decide what to do after that. To decide it now would be but to embarrass us, and to get up another issue on which to divide us. For the present we are to see to it, that the South do not subjugate us.

6th. This clamor for carrying on the War in only a Constitutional way should cease—for it springs neither from good sense nor from an enlightened and enlarged patriotism, and it is fraught with peril if not indeed with ruin to our cause.

It is not true that we are bound to carry on the war Constitutionally at all hazards. I know that the rebels who have kicked aside the Constitution, say that we are. This was the burden of Breckenridge's speeches in the Senate just before he left it to join the rebel Army. But to say that we are to receive the advice of the rebels with caution, is not to

treat them discourteously or ungratefully.— Their professed regard for the Constitution and for our welfare through an incessantly scrupulous and minute observance of it is certainly not above reasonable suspicion.

I admit that I see no necessity for violating the Constitution in carrying on the War. But if I did I would not hesitate to have it violated. I totally deny that this nation or any other nation is to regard itself as tied up to a Paper in the prosecution of war. Never before was there a nation so insane as to maintain for one moment the idea that, in a life and death struggle, it was bound at whatever risk to take those steps and those only, which had been marked out for it in a time of peace and safety. What the salvation of the nation calls for is to be done, whether the Constitution does or does not provide for it. The person, who says otherwise, would be like to evince more concern to save the hat than the head of the drowning man. "All that a man hath will he give for his life:"—and all that a nation hath, Constitution included, should she be willing to give for her life. The country is more than the Constitution. Not for the sake of the Constitution may the country be hazarded:—but for the sake of the country the Constitution may be sacrificed. And I repeat that the putting down of the rebels is more than both Constitution and country.

There is, my hearers, a better inheritance than a Constitution or even than a country, which we can leave to our successors. This better inheritance is the glorious and immortal fact, that we made more account of putting down an infernal Rebellion than we did of preserving our treasure or our life, our Constitution or our country. To resist high-handed and bloody crime at whatever hazard or expense to ourselves, and to be less concerned to escape from death than from deep and enduring disgrace—surely this will be more precious in the esteem of our children than any thing we could have saved for them by failing of this fidelity and bravery, and going down to the low grounds of calculation and compromise. To be willing to fling away our all in withstanding the assaults of a demonized gang on the sacred edifice of free government—this is to make ourselves the greatest blessing to those who shall come after us; and this is to do more toward carrying upward and onward the human family than could be done by saving a thousand countries in which this sublime spirit of self-sacrifice is not found.

I said that I see no necessity for violating the Constitution in carrying on war. That paper withholds no needed power. It provides that Congress may declare war and enact all laws "necessary and proper" to give effect to the declaration. Congress is, of course the sole judge as to what laws are "necessary and proper." Surely here is power enough.

We must all stand by the Government, and do all we can to make strong its heart and hands. Ours is an intelligent Government, and it is honestly intent in putting down the Rebellion. Every Government falls into mistakes. Doubtless ours has fallen into some. But the Democrats complain too unqualifiedly and sweepingly of it. I admit that they are entirely right in denouncing the unnecessary seizure and imprisonment of citizens.— Nevertheless there are instances of their necessary seizure and imprisonment: and moreover there are instances, (I confess comparatively few,) where there is not opportunity for the examination of the accused either previous to or immediately after his arrest. But, Democrats, if you will bear in mind that this power to seize and imprison citizens is, although a very necessary one, a very odious one, you will see that Government is under a strong motive to exercise it sparingly, and only for the safety of the country. I am not a member of the Republican Party. Nevertheless I can trust our Republican Government at this point. I would, Democrats, that you also might be willing to trust it. Enlighten it, and remonstrate with it, as there may be occasion. But do not array your-

selves against it. For the dear country's sake be on its side—its friend and not its foe.

Let me speak of an error, which not Democrats only but Republicans also are liable to fall into. Now a Fremont, now a Hunter, now a Fitz John Porter, and now a McClellan comes under the censure of the Government. Perhaps in every instance the censure is unjust. But Democrats and Republicans, if there be an instance in which you are entirely sure it is unjust, nevertheless do not add to the embarrassments of the Government and the perils of the country by making it an occasion for complimenting and glorifying the censured one. In this wise you will gather a party around him: and it will not fail to be a party against the Government. But the Government, so long as it has the armed South for a party against it, cannot afford to encounter any other party. I do not know but the Government fell into mistakes in regard to all these Generals. But I do know that whether it did or did not, the present is not the time to punish the mistakes of the Government. As much as we can now do is to punish the crimes of the rebels. Let the friends of the Fremonts and McClellans be patient. Justice will be done to their favorites; and the less hurriedly the more perfectly.

I pass to the wrong which those abolitionists commit, who condemn the President for not proclaiming freedom to all the slaves, and also to the wrong which those Democrats commit, who condemn him for proclaiming it to any. Now, the truth on the one hand is that the President has no right to abolish Slavery except as Commander-in-Chief, and no right even in that capacity to abolish it any further or faster than the military necessities of the country call for. The truth on the other hand is that he has the right to abolish any and all Slavery the abolition of which is called for by such necessities. In his much criticized, much condemned and much ridiculed Letter to Horace Greeley the President laid down the true doctrine in this case. If it would help us in the war to call to our side the slaves of South Carolina, then the President should call them. If it would not help us to call those of North Carolina, those he should not call. In nothing of all this has he ought to do with the morality of Slavery. I grant that if the slaves will not come, it is useless to call them: and I am aware that it is very frequently and confidently asserted that their love of their masters and mistresses is too great to permit them to come. If however they will come, then by all means they should be called—and this too even if they should, as it is said they would, prove too lazy to work where there are no whips to work under; and even if they should, as it is said they would, prove too cowardly to fight. For left where they are their toil sustains the Rebellion.

I claim not to know whether the slaves will come to our standard—nor whether if they should come they will either work or fight.— But I do claim that, inasmuch as there is a chance, be it however small, that they will come, and a chance, be it however small, that they will work, and a chance, be it however small, that they will fight, the President's Proclamation of Freedom is justified. For what if it shall turn out that the slaves are able to tear themselves away from their dear masters and mistresses! What an immense advantage to our cause will that be; and even though they shall prove unable or unwilling to render us any service after coming to us! And then if it shall turn out that they are willing to work on our side, and to work as faithfully as did that comparative handful of escaped and deserted slaves who, instead of being, as was all along alleged, a charge upon our national treasury, put into it, over and above wages and expenses, between five and six hundred thousand dollars—then will this immense advantage be doubled. And then a still greater advantage to our cause if they shall be willing to fight for it, and our officers and soldiers shall be so earnestly patriotic as to let them fight for it. For I know not why, if they shall be willing to fight for us, they shall not fight with as signal bravery and effectiveness as did the negroes in both of

our wars with Great Britain. Whether our officers and soldiers will be so much in earnest to put down the Rebellion as to let the despised negroes help them put it down, remains to be seen. If *entirely* in earnest they would welcome the aid not only of negroes and Indians but of even the devil himself.

I repeat that I know not whether the slaves will come to us, or whether if they do they will work or fight. They are called the most patient and forgiving of all the races. They will certainly prove that they are, if they can forget that monstrous and meanest crime of letting the thousands, who toiled on the Vicksburg cut-off, fall again into the hands of the vindictive slaveholders; and if they can also forget the innumerable instances in which slaves coming to our lines, some with very valuable news of the designs and movements of the enemy, and all with hearts and hands to help us, have with satanic malignity been returned to the fate from which they had fled; and if in a word they can forget our persistent ridicule, loathing and murderous hate of a people, who have done not one wrong in return for the mountains of wrong under which we have buried them. It is true that even such a people may at last be goaded to revengeful and bloody insurrections. Not however if they can have a way of escape from their oppressors. The President's Proclamation is the safety-valve. One of my chief reasons for welcoming it was that it would probably prevent servile insurrections.

I said that the Proclamation is to be justified in the light of even the least favorable expectations from it. But should we realize from it all this, which I have been speaking of as possible, then should we all rejoice in it. Should we hear to-night that a Southern black regiment has overcome a rebel white one, would we not all swing our hats? Would not even the Democrats? It would indeed put to shame some of their oft-repeated and most confident predictions, and it would take from their harp its most available string—But, Democrats, you would be too patriotic and magnanimous to mind that—wouldn't you?

I spoke of the blacks coming to our side. Let me not be misunderstood. The abolition of Slavery will not send the Southern blacks to the North, but it will send the Northern blacks to the South. A genial climate, and, still more, masses of their race will attract them thither. They, who seek to make the white laborer of the North jealous of abolition, do so either very ignorantly or very disingenuously.

And there is still another complaint which I have to make. It is the injustice and insult to the President of which they are guilty, who charge him with turning the War into an abolition War. He solemnly declares that his sole end is to put down the Rebellion; and that whatever he does with Slavery is done but incidentally and but to that sole end. What if the President, having taking it into his head that one of the most effective things which could be done toward prostrating the Rebellion is to free the cotton from the tenacious grasp of the Confederate Government, should be multiplying endeavors to that end? Would it be fair to charge him with perverting the War into a War to free the cotton? I deliberately affirm that it would be quite as fair as to charge him with perverting it into a War to free the slave.—Let us all be just to the President. To be unjust to him is not only to wrong him, but to wrong and perhaps ruin the country. Democrats! there are some who accuse you of opposing the President's Proclamation because you would pervert the War into a War for Slavery. Are you not indignant at the accusation? Surely, you should be. For nothing in all the history of man could be more revolting than such a perversion of a just War and such a betrayal of a righteous cause. Great is the wickedness of a slaveholding people who make war for Slavery. But the wanton and unmitigated wickedness of a non-slaveholding people, who should join them, would be infinitely greater.

I must bring my Speech to a close. Do

you wonder that I, so old and so radical an Abolitionist, have expressed in it no concern about Slavery? I could not express what I did not feel. Since the bombarding of Sumter I have felt no concern about Slavery—for I could not doubt that it was the effectual bombarding of Slavery. As the war has advanced I have been increasingly confident that the people would never consent to re-establish the cause of all this blood and horror and desolation. As I have seen the ploughshare of war pass through Slavery I have felt more and more that the time for the abomination to pass away had come. And now have we signs that the very earthquakes of war will soon be rending this mountain of oppression, and tossing its part hither and thither beyond all possibility of restoration.

Moreover, Civilization is everywhere casting off Slavery: and there is reason to hope that even the South will become so far civilized by this war as no longer to desire Slavery. It is indeed sad to have to number war amongst the civilizing agents. Nevertheless so it is that whilst the nations are on their present low plane—a plane in the case of some of them not above the barbarism of slaveholding—it is hardly extravagant to say of them that: "without shedding of blood there is no" civilization. War is emphatically the worst of all remedies. But the nations are still too low and barbarous to try only the better ones.

Yes, the slave is soon to go free. Heaven's time for setting him free is at hand; and Earth and Hell cannot prevail against Heaven. He goes free by the shedding of blood. But it is the blood of his common oppressors North and South, instead of his own. Wondrous manifestations of the divine hand!—Wondrous retributions of the Divine justice!

But though I am sure that the innocent slave shall go free, I am not sure that the guilty nation shall live. God alone knows what penalty will be adequate to its enormous, continued and unrepented of crimes against His poor. Perhaps it is to be destroyed, and to be a warning, loud and long, against oppression. Nevertheless, though we are to be submissive to whatever may be in store for her, we are to labor zealously, wisely and incessantly for her salvation.

My hearers, we will all stand by the Government—will we not? Although some of us are Democrats and some Republicans and some Abolitionists, we will nevertheless lock hands as Americans—will we not? We will all of us, notwithstanding our party divisions and party interests, generously and patriotically band ourselves together to crush this causeless and accursed Rebellion—will we not? Would that we might this night feel more deeply than ever that it is not by the rebels that we can be conquered, but only by ourselves. Nothing is truer than that the life of the rebellion is in disunion at the North. Nothing is truer than that it would find its death in union at the North.

Ere taking my seat let me remind you of our duty to stand by our army—by the brave men who have gone out from among us to suffer every hardship and to face every peril in the high and holy work of suppressing the most nefarious of all conspiracies. But the way to stand by them is to stand by the Government they serve. To desert the Government is to desert them. Our soldiers bid us stand by the Government. They are afflicted that so many of us do not. They are indignant at the divisions by which we encourage the foe, and make him abler to drive back and slaughter our friends. Such heartlessness toward themselves as well as toward the country is very unlike that reward of sympathy, gratitude and love on which they counted when they went forth to fight her battles.—Our slain soldiers, could they speak, would bid us stand by the Government. Our tens of thousands of broken families, weeping over those who went to the Army never more to return from it, bid us stand by the Government. The enlightened friends of freedom and righteousness the earth over bid us stand by the Government. And, loud above all,

comes down the voice out of Heaven: "Stand by the Government! Stand by the Government!"

MEN OF COLOR TO ARMS!

When first the rebel cannon shattered the walls of Sumpter, and drove away its starving garrison I predicted that the war, then and there inaugurated would not be fought out entirely by white men. Every month's experience during these two dreary years, has confirmed that opinion. A war undertaken and brazenly carried on for the perpetual enslavement of colored men, calls logically and loudly upon colored men to help suppress it. Only a moderate share of sagacity was needed to see that the arm of the slave was the best defence against the arm of the slaveholder.—Hence with every reverse to the National arms, with every exulting shout of victory raised by the slaveholding rebels, I have implored the imperilled nation to unchain against her foes her powerful black hand.—Slowly and reluctantly that appeal is beginning to be heeded. Stop not now to complain that it was not heeded sooner. It may, or it may not have been best that it should not. This is not the time to discuss that question. Leave it to the future. When the war is over, the country is saved, peace is established, and the black man's rights are secured, as they will be, history with an impartial hand, will dispose of that and sundry other questions. Action! action! not criticism, is the plain duty of this hour. Words are now useful only as they stimulate to blows. The office of speech now is only to point out when, here and how, to strike to the best advantage. There is no time for delay. The tide is at its flood that leads on to fortune.—From East to West, from North to South—the sky is written all over "NOW OR NEVER."—Liberty won by white men would lose half its lustre. Who would be free themselves must strike the blow. Better even to die free, than to live slaves. This is the sentiment of every brave colored man amongst us. There are weak and cowardly men in all nations. We have them amongst us. They tell you that this is the "white man's war;"—that you will be no "better off after, than before the war;" that the getting of you into the army is to "sacrifice you on the first opportunity." Believe them not—cowards themselves, they do not wish to have their cowardice shamed by your brave example. Leave them to their timidity, or to whatever motive may hold them back.

I have not thought lightly of the words I am now addressing to you. The counsel I give comes of close observations of the great struggle now in progress—and of the deep conviction that this is your, hour, and mine.

In good earnest then, and after the best deliberation, I now for the first time during this war feel at liberty to call and counsel you to arms. By every consideration which binds you to your enslaved fellow country-men, and the peace and welfare of your country; by every aspiration which you cherish for the freedom and equality of yourselves and your children; by all the ties of blood and identity which make us one with the brave black men, now fighting our battles in Louisiana, in South Carolina, I urge you to fly to arms, and mite with death the power that would bury the Government and your Liberty in the same

hopeless grave. I wish I could tell you that the State of New York calls you to this high honor. For the moment her constituted authorities are silent on the subject. They will speak by and by, and doubtless on the right side; but we are not compelled to wait for her. We can get at the throat of treason and slavery, through the State of Massachusetts.

She was first in the war of Independence; first to break the chains of her slaves; first to make the black man equal before the law; first to admit colored children to her common schools, and she was first to answer with her blood the alarm cry of the nation—when its capital was menaced by rebels. You know her patriotic Governor, and you know Charles Sumner—I need not add more.

Massachusetts now welcomes you to arms as her soldiers. She has but a small colored population from which to recruit. She has full leave of the General Government to send one regiment to the war, and she has undertaken to do it. Go quickly and help fill up this first colored regiment from the North. I am authorized to show you that you will receive the same wages, the same rations, the same equipments, the same protection, the same treatment and the same bounty secured to white soldiers. You will be led by able and skillful officers—men who will take especial pride in your efficiency and success. They will be quick to accord to you all the honor you shall merit by your valor—and see that your rights and feelings are respected by other soldiers. I have assured myself on these points—and can speak with authority. More than twenty years unswerving devotion to our common cause, may give me some humble claim to be trusted at this momentous crisis.

I will not argue. To do so implies hesitation and doubt, and you do not hesitate. You do not doubt. The day dawns—the morning star is bright upon the horizon! The Iron gate of our prison stands half open. One gallant rush from the North will fling it wide open, while four millions of our brothers and sisters, shall march out into Liberty! The chance is now given you to end in a day the bondage of centuries, and to rise in one bound from social degradation to the plane of common equality with all other varieties of men. Remember Denmark Vesey of Charleston.—Remember Nathaniel Turner of South Hampton, remember Shields Green, and Copeland who followed noble John Brown, and fell as glorious martyrs for the slave. Remember, that in a contest with oppression, the Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with oppressors. The case is before you.—This is our golden opportunity—let us accept it—and forever wipe out the dark reproaches unsparingly buried against us by our enemies. Win for ourselves the gratitude of our Country—and the best blessings of our posterity through all time. The nucleus of this first regiment is now in camp at Readville, a short distance from Boston. I will undertake to forward to Boston all persons adjudged fit to be mustered into the regiment, who shall apply to me at any time within the next two weeks.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Rochester, March 2d, 1863.

ONLY A NIGGER.

INGENUITY AND MECHANICAL SKILL OF A COLORED MAN.

We had the pleasure of examining yester-

day a very remarkable mechanical curiosity, which, having been produced under circumstances of an interesting nature, calls for at least a mention in our columns. The *Curiosity*, for such we shall term it, is a small steam-engine, the total weight of which is only three-fourths of an ounce and so diminutive in size that it could be accommodated with sufficient room for motion under an ordinary sewing-thimble. The whole machine is supported upon an upright boiler by the tabular point of an ordinary silver lead-pencil, the opening through which forms the steam pipe of this Lilliputian motor, the power of which is rated at one seven-hundred and twenty-eighth part of a horse power. The machine is no mere toy, but is a perfect high pressure engine, containing all the parts and characteristics of the most improved patterns; although the bore of the cylinder is only one-tenth, the stroke two-tenths, and the motion of slide valve one thirty-second of an inch.

The inventor of this engine, or perhaps more properly the builder, who yesterday exhibited to us this (his third similar) work of patience and ingenuity in full motion, is as before mentioned, a young colored man, Benjamin Boardley by name, connected with the Naval Academy in a subordinate capacity and notwithstanding his humble origin in Slavery, is certainly a mechanic of more than ordinary intelligence and skill. His history, so far as we know it, is simple and does much to combat the doctrine of the inferiority of the colored race. Benjamin, as a Maryland Slave, was hired from his master while the Academy was stationed at Annapolis to do menial duty for the professors and assist in handing the apparatus used for experiments before the midshipmen. He evinced so much intelligence and was withal so attentive and desirous to obtain information for his own improvement, that he became a general favorite, in consequence of which a purse was made up and he was purchased from his master. Since his freedom has been secured he has continued to remain in his old position at the Academy, improving himself by the advantages which surrounded him in various intellectual acquirements. As a mechanic he certainly possesses extraordinary merit, and if we do not greatly mistake will eventually make his mark in the world.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FEBRUARY 28 1863.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. Sumner, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred the "message of the President of the United States, communicating, in answer to a resolution of the Senate, correspondence on the subject of mediation, arbitration, or other measures looking to the termination of the present rebellion," reported the following resolutions, which were read:

CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS of Congress concerning Foreign Intervention in the existing Rebellion.

Whereas it appears from the diplomatic correspondence submitted to Congress that a proposition, friendly in form, looking to pacification through foreign mediation, has been made to the United States by the Emperor of the French and promptly declined by the President; *and whereas* the idea of mediation or intervention in some shape may be regarded by Foreign Governments as practicable, and such governments, through this misunderstanding, may be led to proceedings tending to embarrass the friendly relations which now exist between them and the United States; *and whereas*, in order to remove for the future all chance of misunderstanding on this subject, and to secure for the United States the full enjoyment of that freedom from foreign interference which is one of the highest rights of independent states, it seems fit that Congress should declare its convictions thereon: *Therefore*—

Resolved, (the House of Representatives concurring,) That while in times past the United States have sought and excepted the friendly mediation or arbitration of Foreign Powers for the pacific adjustment of interna-

tional questions, where the United States were the party of the one part and some other Sovereign Power the party of the other part; and while they are not disposed to misconstrue the natural and humane desire of Foreign Powers to aid in arresting domestic troubles, which, widening in their influence, have afflicted other countries, especially in view of the circumstance, deeply regretted by the American people, that the blow aimed by the Rebellion at the National life has fallen heavily upon the laboring population of Europe: yet, notwithstanding these things, Congress cannot hesitate to regard every proposition of foreign interference in the present contest as so far unreasonable and inadmissible that its only explanation will be found in a misunderstanding of the true state of the question, and of the war in which the Republic is engaged.

Resolved, That the United States are now grappling with an unprovoked and wicked Rebellion, which is seeking the destruction of the Republic that it may build a new Power, whose corner-stone, according to the confession of its chiefs, shall be Slavery; that for the suppression of this Rebellion, and thus to save the Republic and to prevent the establishment of such a Power, the National Government is now employing armies and fleets, in full faith, that through these efforts all the purposes of conspirators and rebels will be crushed; that while engaged in this struggle, on which so much depends, any proposition from a Foreign Power, whatever form it may take, having for its object the arrest of these efforts, is, just in proportion to its influence, an encouragement to the Rebellion, and to its declared pretensions, and, on this account, is calculated to prolong and embitter the conflict, to cause increased expenditure of blood and treasure, and to postpone the much desired day of peace; that, with these convictions, and not doubting that every such proposition, although made with good intent, is injurious to the National interests, Congress will be obliged to look upon any further attempt in the same direction as an unfriendly act which it earnestly deprecates, to the end that nothing may occur abroad to strengthen the Rebellion or to weaken those relations of good will with Foreign Powers which the United States are happy to cultivate.

Resolved That the Rebellion, from its beginning, and far back even in the conspiracy which preceded its outbreak, was encouraged by the hope of support from Foreign Powers; that its chiefs frequently boasted that the people of Europe were so far dependent upon regular supplies of the great Southern staple that, sooner or later, their governments would be constrained to take sides with the Rebellion in some effective form, even to the extent of forcible intervention, if the milder form did not prevail; that the Rebellion is now sustained by this hope, which every proposition of foreign interference quickens anew, and that, without this life-giving support, it must soon yield to the just and paternal authority of the National Government; that, considering these things, which are aggravated by the motive of the resistance thus encouraged, the United States regret that Foreign Powers have not frankly told the chiefs of the Rebellion that the work in which they are engaged is hateful, and that a new Government, such as they seek to found, with Slavery as its acknowledged corner-stone, and with no other declared object of separate existence, is so far shocking to civilization and the moral sense of mankind that it must not expect welcome or recognition in the Commonwealth of Nations.

Resolved, That the United States, confident in the justice of their cause, which is the cause, also, of good government and of Human Rights everywhere among men; anxious for the speedy restoration of Peace, which shall secure tranquility at home and remove all occasion of complaint abroad; and awaiting with well-assured trust the final suppression of the Rebellion, through which all these things, rescued from present danger, will be secured forever, and the Republic, one and indivisible, triumphant over its enemies, will

continue to stand an example to mankind, hereby announce, as their unalterable purpose, that the war will be vigorously prosecuted, according to the humane principles of Christian states, until the Rebellion shall be overcome; and they reverently invoke upon their cause the blessings of Almighty God.

Resolved, That the President be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions, through the Secretary of State, to the ministers of the United States in Foreign Countries, that the declaration and protest herein set forth may be communicated by them to the Governments to which they are accredited.

LECTURES.

From the Philadelphia "Inquirer."

Lecture on the "Crisis," by Frederick Douglass—Enlistments for the Colored Brigade started and five names obtained. According to a notice inserted in yesterday's papers a mingled audience of black and white gathered in the Bethel colored church last evening, to hear Fred. Douglass lecture upon "The Crisis." Arriving at the church we found the sable children of Africa rapidly assembling, and freely scattered among them were to be seen the blue-veined descendants of our Saxon and Norman ancestors. The body of the church and galleries were well filled with the friends of the young orator, and throughout his entire address he was listened to with marked attention, save when his utterances touched an answering chord in the breasts of his hearers, when the church was shaken by outbursts of applause. The meeting was organized by the appointment of the following officers:—

President—Rev. Jabez P. Campbell.

Vice President—Rev. T. Smith, Rev. E. Weaver, Rev. W. J. W. Schurman, Morris Hall, and several others, together with a list of Secretaries.

The President introduced Mr. Douglass to the audience. In commencing his remarks the speaker said:—My object in speaking before you this evening is to make a few statements, having reference to a practical purpose, rather than the discussion of the evils of slavery. The time for words has passed, and the time for deeds has come. Our country is in the midst of a tremendous Rebellion—a Rebellion inaugurated by slaveholders, for the purpose of extending and perpetuating the slavery of our race. It is not necessary to attempt to prove this is a slaveholders' Rebellion, nor that, if successful, it extinguishes forever the hope of emancipating our brethren in bonds. The question comes to us, how ought we, as colored men to feel, think and act, in view of this Rebellion?

How we ought to feel, needs no discussion. Our souls should boil with the deepest and intensest indignation against the Rebels, who are conspiring to overturn this Government.

How ought we to think? That if there is any way in which we can assist in defeating this fearful Rebellion and its terrible designs, we ought determinedly to do it. In the beginning of the war we were a great slaveholding people. The first words uttered by Mr. Lincoln, in ascending the Presidential chair, were expressive of his willingness to carry out the compromises of the Constitution, in submission to the pro-slavery unanimity of the opinion of the people. But how wonderfully and mysteriously have events shaped themselves, so that, at the present time, the conviction is universal that the abolition of slavery is essential to the preservation of the Government. In the beginning of the war we were cautious to conciliate the South. We were fearful of sending obnoxious persons into the South to collect revenue. We were careful to instruct our Generals to return fugitive slaves. But times have changed.

For this we have to thank the persistent villany of Jeff. Davis more than the virtue of the North. The difficulty in the way of suppressing the Rebellion induced the removal of certain pro-slavery Generals from the army, and finally persuaded Mr. Lincoln to issue a proclamation declaring every slave in the service of masters in rebellion free from all bond

age on the first of January, 1863. There is not a black in slavery to-night but who is unlawfully detained in his chains and who is not entitled to use any means to free himself from them.

But we come to a practical question, the question of arming negroes and bidding them fight the battles of the Government. It met with much opposition, but an All-Wise Providence has opened the eyes of the people of this country. The negro and the Irishman, the black man and the Yankee, must fall or flourish together. Liberty must be for all, or all will be involved in common ruin. The Government has consented, under certain conditions, we may bear arms—we may assist in putting down Rebellion. But a little of the pro-slavery leaven is still left. The regiments raised and recruited from the blacks are to be commanded by whites, and no negro can be rated, save as a non-commissioned officer of the United States.

Now ought we to accept this offer and rally under the star spangled banner, although we comply with conditions not imposed upon any other class of individuals who are periling their lives in defence of the Government? Or ought we to throw ourselves upon our dignity and refuse to act until all our rights are secured? Ought we to cast in our lot with the loyal army? I think we ought. I counsel as a measure of sound expediency that we each and all of us rush into the service of the Government, although it does impose upon us conditions not exacted from any other class of individuals. Get an eagle on your button and a musket on your shoulder, by the speediest means, at any cost, and then, when you have Uncle Sam's uniform on your back, all the devils in Jeff. Davis' dominions cannot keep you out of citizenship. Massachusetts is now asking colored men to rally under the flag of our country and defend it against the Rebels who are striving to destroy it.

If there is anything in the world that the Copperheads dread, it is a negro with arms in his hands and bullets in his pockets. (Applause.) In New York I have already enlisted almost a full company, to join in the First Regiment of Massachusetts Colored Volunteers, and the morning that shall witness the marching down Broadway of that colored regiment, timing its soldiers' footsteps to the time-honored music of old John Brown, will be a glorious morning for us. We must make the experiment in Massachusetts a success, because the world is looking at the old historic State, and if Massachusetts fails, the experiment fails throughout more pro-slavery States. Shall we go to old Massachusetts?

It is said we can't fight. The men who say we can't fight are the same men who say the effect of putting him in uniform will be to cut his master's throat (laughter.) The same men say the negro won't work, and the next day, in long and labored articles, they declare the negro will come here and take the bread out of the mouths of white workingmen (more laughter.) We have fought before. We are fighting now in Louisiana and in other States in the South, and can we, who have been free here, fight? I believe we can. But will we? (Cries of yes.) If we really want to fight, we must go about it the only way we can. Massachusetts says come to her. No other State has petitioned us. Let us go into the door already opened, as a way to open other doors. My business here is to ask men to pledge themselves to go to-night.

Nations and individuals are respected in proportion to their ability to fight. The reason why the black man is not respected equally with any other people, is because the black man has not fought so frequently and successfully as other nations. The man and the slave who allows himself to be whipped easiest is whipped oftenest. (Laughter.) We have a reputation of being not a brave people, but a patient, docile and peaceful people. The time has come when we must change this estimate of the colored man's character. We have been enslaved for two hundred and thirty years. Let us change our condition; let us join old Massachusetts and go down and meet Jeff. Davis on this our own native soil in a

great liberation expedition. The whole heavens are written over with 'now or never' for the colored people. I will call on you one by one while you halloo out your names, and somebody takes them down. ('Horace Potter' was here called out and greeted with loud applause.) 'Horace Potter,' said the orator, 'we will call for you in a short time.'

Before we go any further I want you to sing a few verses. (The lecturer here, in clear, ringing tones, began to sing 'John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave,' the whole audience joining in before the second line of the song was sung.) Now another name, James Christopher, Edward Johnson and Henry Johnson, were quickly called out, and each name elicited hearty applause.

Pro E. D. Bassett then came forward and read the following resolutions, which were adopted as representing the sentiments of the assembled people, and the meeting adjourned:

Whereas, Some well-meaning but irresponsible persons have from time to time presumed to represent and express the views of the colored people of this community, in relation to the all important and trying crisis of our country, such persons having no authority whatever to act in this capacity; and

Whereas, It cannot be too often repeated, or too plainly expressed to our white fellow countrymen, that, as with themselves so with us, there exists the widest difference of opinion on all questions of public policy and events (except that disloyalty to the Government is unknown among us); and

Whereas, It is therefore of importance to us and the community in which we live, that our views, wishes and opinions be not taken and judged of from irresponsible and unrepresentative persons or prelates—be it therefore

Resolved, That the views expressed this evening in our hearing, by Frederick Douglass, who we are ever proud to greet and recognize as our ever firm and able representative, and the exponent of our views, meet our hearty approval.

Resolved, That we recognize it as our duty, as it is that of all other American citizens, to give all the assistance in our power to suppress any and every attempt to break up this Government.

Resolved, That from the first we have dissented from the policy of excluding colored men from the Army as soldiers; that we warmly approve of the course of old Massachusetts, which was the first to wipe from its escutcheon the foul blot of slavery, the first to make the colored man equal before the law, so she of right ought to be the first to lead to the field an army of colored men to battle for the freedom of the country.

Resolved, further, That we commend the conduct of those brave colored men from this city who have already joined the Fifth Regiment of that State.

DIED.—In Newbury, Ohio, on the 20th of October, Herman Ober, aged 56 years. In the same place on the 25th of October, his father, Zachariah Ober, aged 87 years. Thus within the brief period of six days, both father and son were translated to a higher and brighter state of existence—meeting their change with Christian serenity, and feeling assured that they have kept the faith, they should enter into rest eternal.

The venerable and much respected father removed from Washington, N. H., in 1833, to Newbury, Ohio. He lived to see forty of his descendants settled within six miles of him, and a wonderful change in the State of his adoption. Deeply religious, and strong to the last in his evangelical sentiments, he was neither pharisee nor bigot, but nobly true to his convictions, upright and just in his actions, deeming good fruits a surer test of character than assent to any creed, and true piety that which delights in progress, and is ever concerned for the welfare of suffering humanity. Consequently he early espoused the despised Anti-Slavery cause, and was one of the first to plead for the down-trodden slave in the church of which he was a prominent member. Of course, he had to encounter much opposition at that time, but his integrity and moral courage were equal to any trial. What was then branded as secular, he regarded as an essential part of "pure and undefiled religion before God," in accordance with the teaching of the apostle James. But he lived to see a radical change in the views of many who were among his opponents, and died rejoicing in the prospect of a coming jubilee at no distant day. The passage of the barbarous Fugitive Slave Law especially shocked his sympathetic nature and kindled his moral indignation to a flame. He promptly recorded his protest against it in the *Liberator*, which paper he read with warm approval and delight to the close of life. Truly, "the memory of the just is blessed."

Herman Ober, his son, was of the same religious faith, a lover of impartial freedom, a good, upright, benevolent man, whose doors were ever open to the weary and outcast, without regard to complexion or clime. His departure is heavily felt and deeply lamented by a large family, and loving friends.

IN MEMORIAM—In the obituary notice of the late venerable Zechariah Ober, published in last week's paper, reference was made to his faithful testimony against the Fugitive Slave Law, he being 76 years old at the time of its enactment. That testimony was given in the *Liberator*, April 25, 1851, in the following emphatic manner:

"How long, I ask, how long shall this nation be cursed with rulers that violate every rule of justice, set their claims above high Heaven's laws, and make this a nation of bloodhounds, to catch the poor panting fugitive, and return him to hopeless bondage? Shall we, shall this nation say—It is the law of the land—we must obey it? Servile doughfaces will do it; but those who fear God, and are determined to obey his laws, although devils rage and rulers threaten, will not fall down and worship the image which king Darius has set up for the overthrow of freedom in this land.

O, ye Bostonians! Where is the spirit of freedom, that caused you to give Sims into the iron grasp of ferocious tigers! Hell rejoices—Heaven mourns! Shame on them! Shame, as eternal shame must, ere long, be the reward of these modern Judases, who will consign a fellow-man to hopeless bondage. Is the slave law in Boston to be paramount to the higher law, which forbids the returning of him who has escaped from his master to his master again?—Will not the hands of the traitors be greatly strengthened by this deed of villainy? I would almost say, if such deeds are to be done in Boston, 'Up! get ye from it, lest the Lord destroy it for its wickedness!'"

NATIVE AFRICANS ENLISTING.

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 27 1863

Mr. Editor—In Company A, 2d Regiment Louisiana Volunteers Native Guards, there are two privates. Wimbo Congo and August Congo, who are natives of Africa. They were brought here some three years ago, on board of the celebrated yacht *Wanderer*, and sold as slaves to a slaveholder on the opposite side of the river, and were compelled to work until the city was captured by the United States troops. As soon as Gen. Butler issued his order calling on the colored people of Louisiana to take up arms to defend their homes, these two patriotic sons of Africa threw down their hoes in the field, and marched boldly to the Tourre building, and in broken language declared that they wanted to fight for the United States. Capt. Pinckback at first declined to enlist them because they could not speak the English language plain enough to be soldiers, but Lieut. Keeling insisted on taking them, which was done, and they proved as good soldiers as we can find in the whole three colored regiments. They are from the Congo river. They give wonderful accounts of Africa, and tell how they were stolen from there and brought to America. They speak highly of their King George's country. We want ten thousand more brave sons of Africa like these, so if the *Wanderer* and her officers would like to go into the recruiting business, we will pay two dollars for each able-bodied man they may steal from Africa and bring to the United States army. The 4th regiment of native Guards is nearly completed, and will soon be ready to go into the field. I hope to see some account of the deeds of our brave Louisiana boys in your paper soon.

The 1st Regiment Louisiana Volunteers, Native Guards, are at the English turn, a few miles below the city, where they are building a fort. Seven companies of the 2d are at Ship Island, fortifying the place. The 3d regiment is at Baton Rouge, the Capital of the State, fortifying that town. I am sorry to say that seventeen of the colored commissioned officers of the 3d have resigned, owing to some disagreement between them and Col. Nelson. One mistake is made by the northern soldiers and officers, they think that all the colored population in New Orleans are contrabands. They have not been made aware that several thousands of this class are free-born, well-educated property-holders, who have always enjoyed all the respect and privileges, with the exception of voting, of other citizens. Hundreds of them have graduated in Europe, are licensed to practice all kinds of professions, are doctors, dentists, &c. Silver-smiths, portraits-painters, architects, brick-lay-

ers, plasterers, carpenters, tailors, cigar-makers, &c.—all responded to the call of Gen. Butler, closed up their establishments, and enlisted as privates in the regiments of Native Guards to fight for the Union. Nearly four thousand of those brave and patriotic colored sons of Louisiana have enrolled themselves for three years or during the war to defend the flag of their country and keep Louisiana in the Union. Some of the regiments have been nearly six months mustered in the service, without receiving bounty or pay, but still are serving faithfully, leaving their families at home to do the best they can. We don't care for Jeff Davis's proclamation; we are ready to march on Mobile, Vicksburg, Richmond, Charleston, or wherever we may be ordered.

R. H. ISABELLE

—Anglo African.

BLACK SOLDIERS.

Gen. T. Perronnet Thompson, a liberal member of the British Parliament and a man of large military experience, thus comments in the *Bradford Advertiser* on the use of blacks in war with reference to our great struggle:

It is wonderful how a game may be spoiled, by people who have their heart in the business. Now here is Congress, after volunteering the loss of two hundred thousand lives in hopes of avoiding it, consents to reply to a rebellion in support of African slavery, by raising an African army upon the rebels. Hard work and much contest there was, to arrive at so much of what might have been supposed the first dictate of public honor and individual good sense. But even then, the thing must be spoilt in the baking, like the prophet's uninviting operation. Would not sensible men, or at all events men strong enough to put down the opposite, have looked about them and seen how the same kind of thing had been done before?—At all events to the extent of avoiding unnecessarily mingling their dish with loathsome ingredients.

There were two great examples for their use. The conduct of the English in raising native troops in India, and black regiments in the West India Colonies. In both these cases there was the jealousy of race and color. But the English Parliament did not take into its special care and keeping the putting forward these in the way that should be most damaging to the end designed. The English Parliament is not the weakest Assembly in the world; it has a very tolerable notion of going the way to do what it takes in hand.

It was never part of the English policy to raise troops to be commanded by officers of Indian extraction. Not the son of Maharajah was invited to enter the army list as Ensign in a Company's regiment. There was a distinct organization of native officers, with the rank of native Captain and Lieutenant, besides what may be called non-commissioned; but they all rose from the ranks. They held very respectable positions. It was etiquette to ask them to sit down, at least, he was a pig that did not. Considerate general officers appointed the senior native officer one of their aides-de-camp. His caste prevented his joining in many of the offices of an aid-de-camp; but he enjoyed an otium cum dignitate in the General's tent or ante-chamber. The native officers did a great deal of the duty of their regiments, while the white were storing up health under shelter, and they rode a pony on the march. They had good pensions, and were understood to live greatly respected when their powers of service failed. The great wonder was that they did not yield to the temptation of taking charge out of the white officers' hands; but they did not. On examination, the extent to which all the higher springs of discipline were in the hands of Europeans would be found sufficient to account for it.

But the English were never simple enough to parade the disabilities under which their Indian officers or troops were to labor. It is very doubtful, or rather it is not at all doubtful, whether the most exalted of native officers had distinct authority to recommend to an English recruit to keep step and not get in the way of his neighbors. But nobody was foolish enough to dilate upon the fact. Wisdom, it would seem, goes by longitude, for the latitudes are not very different.

In the black regiments in the West India colonies, the same good sense is displayed. It was never intended that they should be other than commanded by men of European birth, at least in the present generation. Whether in book of fate that the descendant of some dark Othello is to be gazetted to Her or His Majesty's

commission of Ensign in the — West Indian Regiment, is among the secrets time will show. But nobody is such a goose as to talk about it now, and still less if it were the moment for an important movement dependent on such description of troops.

No force of white men can carry on war in a hot country, without at least an equal force of country muscle to help. The babes who pretend to campaign in the Southern States will find this out in time; with the addition that theirs was the only side that admitted of the aid. Lost battles must be their teachers; misfortune is the only tonic for their case. Everybody knows who and what it must come to; but good blood will be shed like water first. The object in thus dabbling with the matter in America, was to play into the hands of correspondents, who are to say to us, "a colored man is not allowed to be an officer; therefore join heart and hand in selling his daughter to prostitution."

Of one thing let everybody be assured—that England is thoroughly sick of the attempts to involve her in a common foolery. The rough handling the Lord Mayor has just received for undertaking to patronize the Fugitive Slave law in the person of its reputed author is the evidence of the day.

LEVEE IN AID OF THE COLORED REGIMENT.

Last evening a subscription levee was held at Chickering's Rooms, for the purpose of supplying the 54th Regiment with an outfit similar to that of other Massachusetts regiments. There was a large attendance, including many ladies. Hon. Thomas Russell presided, and after explaining the object of the meeting, introduced Mr. Wendell Phillips, who said the colored regiment was entitled to liberal aid, and should be tenderly and generously welcomed into the service. These men whom we are now enlisting were three years ago chased into their houses, beaten, bruised, and half dead, while to-day one of the very men who led the attack implores the Senate to make him a Brigadier General. If any man asks if the slave will fight or work, tell him no—no, thank God—the slave will not, but the black man will.

But why should the emancipated slave work? The only marks of freedom he ever saw were idleness—why should he not desire it? God has given us the lesson of the Revolution and of 1812, and now he crowns it with the lesson of 1863, when the nation hangs on the brink of Niagara, held back by a black hand. Ought we not to bless it? But a short time since, Robert Toombs said he would yet call the roll of his slaves upon Bunker Hill—not very near it to day—but, instead of it, a Massachusetts boy calls the roll of his regiment almost within hearing distance of Toombs' plantation. Massachusetts is nearer wiping out Georgia than our sister State is to annihilating us.

Lieut. Col. Hallowell of the 54th regiment said the men of that regiment were very much, in every respect, like white soldiers. The ranks had been open for three weeks, and 350 men had been sworn in and were now at Readville. He closed by inviting such of the audience as were disposed to come out and visit them.

Mr. J. H. Stephenson, treasurer, reported that he had received \$636 75 from private subscription, prior to the meeting, including \$100 by letter, from a citizen interested in the movement.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was introduced, and in the course of his remarks he said the hostility of races is a uniform fact, and the only way of reconciling it is by a closer acquaintance between the opponents. We have kept the black man down until his name has become a synonym of all that is low and degraded. But finally the Government has decided to organize negro regiments, and Massachusetts is endeavoring to do a part, and elevate this hitherto oppressed race to a position where they may strike for their rights. The speaker thought there was no doubt that the black man would make a good soldier.

Rev. Dr. Neale spoke of the change of sentiment noticeable in Washington within a few years in relation to slavery.

Rev. Father Taylor was the last speaker. He thought the country was now getting into a condition to conquer the rebellion.

The levee was a great success, both socially and financially, and will have a good influence in favor of the regiment.—Boston Traveller, March 21st.

THE CHEROKEE NATION ABOLISHES SLAVERY AND REPENTS OF SECESSION.

The Cherokee National Council has just adjourned. It convened in the Delaware District, Cherokee Nation, a few miles from Camp John Ross, where Col. Phillips camped the 3d Brigade, to guard its proceedings.

The result of this Legislative Assembly is the most significant and instructive. The members of the body were elected nearly two years ago. They are the old Legislature—the Legislature that was coerced into an ordinance of secession by the rebel army.

The first act of the Legislature was to repeal the ordinance of secession, which was done unanimously. The next act was to deprive of office in the nation, and disqualify all who should continue to be rebellious or disloyal to the United States Government. The Courts and other legal business of the nation will go on as heretofore the moment the country is peaceable enough to warrant it. Some acts were passed relative to expenditures of Cherokee funds.

A law was enacted appointing a delegation to visit Washington, about the military and civil affairs of the nation, and this delegation was authorized to abolish slavery in the nation should Congress extend the same privilege as to the national border States. This was to be a remunerated emancipation, hanging to the clause of a bargain. But this could neither meet the wishes nor the notions of the Cherokee legislators. Captain Bird Geitz, somewhat noted for fighting the rebels in the mountains before he joined the Federal service, a full-blooded Indian and good lawyer, framed a bill for unconditional emancipation. He introduced his bill with a fine speech, and was eloquently supported by Captain James Vann, Lieut. Col. Lewis Deming, and others.

The argument was this: "That slavery had precipitated this peaceful, happy and glorious nation in war. Slavery was responsible for all the ills that had befallen the Cherokee people and the country. That President Lincoln had struck at the head of the monster in his emancipation proclamation, and that it behooves every patriot and statesman to sustain the President, and meet the issue. That without this there was no peace for our distracted country."

A few cling to the hope of emancipation with compensation, and urged the losses of the people already, but the majority urged that the bill ought not to be so clogged. If the Government chose to pay the loyal very well, but they would leave such a necessary act as the abolition of slavery to no contingencies, and no one should do it for them. It was their work. To the question that "free negroes would crowd in, &c.," Lieutenant Colonel Deming made an eloquent reply, in which he said that, awakened by the grandeur of this struggle, the Cherokee nation could solely afford to do right, and look for God's blessing on our cause, if a million of refugees should flock to it.

Nothing could be more instructive to us as a nation, than this simple and great action of the Cherokee people. We boast of ourselves, of our intelligence and shrewdness, yet debate and cavil at this late day over selfish interests that have betrayed us, and base prejudices that have led us to ruin. Surely, God in His infinite wisdom has raised up these people to rebuke those who still fight against the Providences of God.

When the history of this great rebellion and of this nation is written, the Cherokees shall make no mean figure. Under the leadership of Col. Phillips, they fought desperately at Newtonia and Cane Hill, and have distinguished themselves in every battle of the Southwest, this last season. They have fought fearlessly and bravely, second to no other troops, even

while their families have suffered untold misery and disaster, and now they come cheerfully up to offer the slavery of their nation to the cause of Liberty and Union. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

WELL STATED.—At a meeting of the Western soldiers in Rosecrans' army, the Copperhead lie that the war was made for the benefit of the negro, was refuted in these well chosen words.

"We do not fight to free the slaves, but we free the slaves to stop the fight."

WHAT GEN. SIGEL BELIEVES IN.—In a letter read at the Union League meeting in New York city, on Friday evening, Gen. Sigel says: "I believe in the Monroe doctrine, in the Butler code, in the President's Proclamation, in the good will and perseverance of the people, in the undaunted courage of our volunteers, in the final vindication of the honest, the just and the brave, in the liberation of the down-trodden and the slave, and in the overthrow and death of the Southern Oligarchy."

SMALL BUSINESS.—Gen. Scott is trying to avoid the payment of three per cent. income tax, on his salary as a retired Lieutenant-General. He bases his claim to exemption on the fact that the law specifies that he shall not suffer any reduction in pay rations or allowances. This very small business for a man who is pensioned on a larger salary than any officer of the Government gets in active service.

Commissioner Boutwell, in his answer to the question raised, affirms that the tax is in no way at reduction of pay, subsistence or allowance but is a tax; and takes occasion to intimate that if retired officers, whose pay has been cut down are subjected to the three per cent. tax, those ought not to be unwilling to submit to this moderate charge who are still allowed to draw full pay.

—From reliable information received on Wednesday, it is ascertained that Charles Amos, a bright, colored lad, about 16 years of age, a native of this town, and his cousin, a lad of about the same age, who formerly lived at Jamaica Plain, have been sold into slavery. The two boys went out as servants to some of the officers of the Massachusetts 42d regiment, and at the capture of Galveston, were taken by the rebels and sold into slavery. What a commentary upon the boasted civilization of the age this enslavement of free born northern men! We hope that some of our brave Dedham boys, whose patriotism does not lie on the surface; will speedily avenge the terrible wrong inflicted upon their little townsmen.—Dedham Gazette.

—The Assembly of New Jersey has passed a bill, providing that any negro or mulatto coming into that State, and remaining ten days therein, shall be transported to Liberia, or some island in the West Indies where slavery does not exist; and authorizing the Governor to pay the expense, not exceeding \$50, in each case arising under the act.

—A meeting has been held in Detroit, in behalf of those who have suffered by means of the late disgraceful riot in that city. Speeches, bitterly denunciatory of the rioters, were made, as well as liberal subscriptions for the relief of the injured and homeless. The rioters were all white men. A number of them are now in jail.

—One of the colored men killed by the mob in Detroit is a fugitive slave who had acquired a good character by his honesty and industry, and who had labored hard to earn enough to purchase his wife and children who were still slaves in Virginia; He had nearly acquired the needed amount when he was murdered. His savings were all consumed, by the fires kindled by the mob.

—Robert Small, the negro pilot who brought the gunboat Planter out of Charleston harbor, and delivered her into our possession, has received information which he has imparted to our officers at Port Royal, to the effect that the rebels have ten thousand blacks at Charleston, and six thousand at Savannah, who have been taught to handle guns, and are employed in working on the fortification. The most exact discipline is enforced among them. Small says he has not the least doubt that the negroes, by thousands, and tens of thousands, will flock to our lines the moment we have taken Charleston, and penetrated the interior a few miles. Charleston, he thinks must be totally destroyed in the approaching conflict.

Small states that the firemen are all negroes and members of a secret organization, pledged to strike for their freedom when an opportunity arrives. He has asked permission to accompany the land force of the expedition, feeling assured that, in less than ten days, he can have ten thousand blacks, fully armed, who will be of more service to us in South Carolina at this time, than an equal number of white soldiers.

—We find the following additional particulars of the recent brutal demonstration at Oil Springs Canada West, in the Detroit Free Press:

"A riot of serious character occurred here on Saturday night, owing to a grudge against the colored people. The rioters to the number of 80 or 100, assembled at the east end of the town, chose a captain, and then marched to the dwellings of the negroes. On arriving at their destination, they ordered the negroes to leave town; and, before they had time to obey the order, the mob commenced their work of destruction by destroying the furniture belonging to the negroes, and then fired the houses, of which four were destroyed, and beating any negro they could catch. Detective McKain swore in a number of constables, and succeeded in capturing three of the rioters. It was reported that one negro was killed, but it is now denied. One is badly hurt. The others ran to the woods and escaped. Great excitement still prevails here."

The Montreal Commercial Advertiser says:

"Oil Springs has been indulging in an eruption of negrophobia; and this odiferous neighborhood yesterday disgraced itself by an emute directed against the colored inhabitants, whose houses were destroyed and themselves driven to the woods. As those who have sustained losses have their legal remedy against the municipality, it will find this kind of amusement more expensive than profitable. We trust the Government will take care that the aggressors are brought to exemplary punishment."

—We learn that recently an extensive business is being done by certain parties in Kentucky and Indiana, in the way of kidnapping free negroes and contrabands, and carrying them into Kentucky and sold into slavery. We hear, also, that a large number of contrabands, gathered up at Cairo and other points, have been transported through this State, contrary to law, under pretext that they were the property of loyal Missouri owners, who feared an emancipation law in that State, and taken into Kentucky and sold into slavery. It is bad enough to steal a negro slave; but it is infinitely more outrageous to kidnap men born free, than those freed by due process of law, and sell them into slavery. The authorities of Indiana should at once look into the matter, and see that the laws of the State are no longer violated by the outrageous proceedings of these kidnappers. Some of the gang are said to be residents of this city, others reside at Louisville, Owensboro', and other towns in Kentucky and Indiana. The matter demands immediate investigation.—New Albany, Indiana, Ledger.

THE EXPEDITION TO JACKSONVILLE.

The Boston Journal has a letter from the squadron that carried the colored regiment to Jacksonville, which gives some account of operations there. Jacksonville was taken on the 10th. The letter says:

"The town is picketed, and guards placed for all necessary protection. The negroes re-

port a small force of rebels stationed eight miles from here. The Colonel proclaims to every colored man he meets that they are free and it is pleasing to witness the effect upon them. I am of the opinion that the rule of the last General here was altogether too pleasing too Secesh for the good of our cause as they speak of him in the warmest praise.

THURSDAY, March 12.—Yesterday we had sharp skirmishing. The rebels endeavored to dislodge us from the town, but I am of the opinion that they went away with much greater respect for free negro soldier than they ever conceived of having. The enemy attacked our pickets on Tuesday night, and were repulsed; with how large a force it is impossible to say. At about 8 o'clock Wednesday morning, a force of 300 cavalry made an attack on Cos. A and E of the 2d regiment, stationed west of the town, near the railroad. They came round upon the left flank of Co. A. to the front in a half circle, poured a terrific volley in upon our men, completed the circles and gave us another fire, while Co. A got in only one volley in return, which did, however, fearful execution. Their surgeon was shot through the forehead, and fell dead. Capt. Hoyt, Co. A. and Capt. Apthorp, Co. B, retired a short distance, and formed into line and waited the appearance of the enemy.

In a short time, a force of two hundred infantry appeared in front. Capt. Hoyt mistaking them for our own men, withheld his fire, (which, if given at the proper time, would have been perfectly murderous,) until they filed towards the woods. The rebels at the same time poured a deadly volley into our men, which threw them into a slight panic. But they returned the fire with effect, as several were seen to fall. One man from Co. A was killed, and two wounded, one severely and two slightly. As the enemy filed toward the woods, Col. Montgomery, who was in front, was brought in direct range of the fire, and fell upon his face until the shot passed over. He remarked that "it was the hottest fire he was ever under."

We can account for three killed and ten or fifteen wounded among the rebels, and probably their loss was greater, as they carried away their dead and wounded. We have lost one man killed and two wounded. We have ten or fifteen prisoners, among whom is Lieut. Driscoll, formerly of the United States army a son-in-law of Floyd."

—The Superintendent of the 500 contrabands who recently arrived at St. Louis, in a published card shows that they are far from being a burden on the community. He gives the following account of their disposal within a week of their arrival:

"I had five hundred in charge at first, and up to yesterday morning I had received applications for 2,300, and about 1,800 of these calls came from St. Louis and the State of Missouri. Nearly 200 persons have been called for by citizens of Illinois, of various political opinions, who said they needed hands to labor, and must have them. These have obtained passes to cross the river, and in families are now toiling on free soil. Over 100 have gone to Iowa, and others will doubtless follow those who have gone before. Two hundred and fifty more from Helena arrived on the Emma, Monday, in the charge of a Federal officer, 190 of whom were forwarded on boats to Kansas."

NEGROES FIGHTIN' FOR THE REBELS.—There does not seem to be any nice question with Jeff. Davis as to the fitness of the blacks for soldiers or even for officers, such as is now raised by his friends in the U. S. Congress. At Mechanicsville a full regiment of blacks was seen under drill, in full view of our lines for several days. The siege guns in the rebel fortifications of Yorktown last Spring, was manned and served by negroes who were recognized as soldiers in the Confederate army. During the engagement at West Point, our forces encountered a full company of negroes, armed and equipped, serving in the rebel army; said negro soldiers drove a portion of our force into a swamp, and deliberately cut the throats of our officers and men, and our troops caught one of these negroes with a commission in his pocket for a Lieutenant in the rebel army, signed by Jeff. Davis.

JUSTICE TO MR. SUMNER.—The whole country, outside of the impotent clique of his personal enemies, are coming to acknowledge the sterling qualities of Charles Sumner's statesmanship, as the Administration has already done by adopting the policy recommended by him a year and a half ago. Let but this policy be carried out with firmness and energy, the wisdom of his recommendations will be fully justified. The National Intelligencer, always against him, in an article upon his re-election to the U. S. Senate, says:

"If we are not able to concur with Mr. Sumner in certain of his opinions on questions of domestic politics, it gives us only the greater pleasure to bear our cheerful and candid testimony to the enlightened judgment and peculiar qualifications he brings to the discharge of the important duties devolved on him as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate. In this capacity he has deservedly won the confidence of the whole country."

Mr. Sumner's views now predominate in the conduct of the present administration, which may be said to have adopted, reluctantly, and at a late day, the political and military policy early commended to its favor by himself."

MORE TREASON.—The Democratic majority in the Illinois Legislature have proposed a bill to take all the military power of the State from the hands of the Governor, even to the appointment of the officers of the army, and vest it in three Commissioners—a majority Democrats, of course. The Governor is Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the State, but this bill virtually places him on one side, and installs in his place a triumvirate, in whose hand he is a mere puppet—a prisoner in his own house. It is one of the most barefaced attempts at usurpation, and usurpation for the basest of purposes, ever attempted.—The mover tried to rush it through the Senate under a suspension of the rules, but he did not succeed, and it takes the usual course. The reason for the movement is obvious. Gov. Yates is a Republican, and in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, and the Democratic majority desire to wrest from him all power which may be used to help the National Government against Jeff. Davis.

NEGRO SOLDIERS IN THE WAR OF 1812.—In 1814, the Legislature of New York passed an act authorizing the raising of two colored regiments. Martin Van Buren reported the bill, and it received every vote but three in the Senate—among them such men as Nathan Sanford, Morgan Lewis, and Erastus Root.—In the House, Elisha Williams, W. A. Duer, A. Hackley, Ogden Edwards, and W. C. Bouck, were members. The bill passed the Council of Revision, which consisted of the Governor, Chancellor, and Judge of the Supreme court. Judge Kent was a member of the Council, and he had one objection to the bill. He thought the negroes should elect their own officers, which by the law were to be white men and appointed by the Governor. The act provided that the slaves could be enlisted, and for their manumission when discharged.

SONG OF FREEDOM.

AIR—"America."

DEDICATED TO FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

For the Evening Express.

Come sing a cheerful lay,
And celebrate this day
Throughout the land:
Oh! let us joyful be,
For freedom's sons are we,
In this land now the free
At Thy command.]

This day we celebrate,
Our works we consecrate,
Great God to Thee;
Accept our grateful praise

To thee our voices raise,
Grant that our future days
Be ever free.

Loud will the chorus round
Through all the world resound—
Blest glorious day;
Firmly unite our arts,
By love's most fertile hearts,
Let not vile traitorous darts,
Bring sad dismay.

Then shout aloud and sing,
Let the whole welkin ring
With praise to Thee:
For Freedom's rights are won,
And enslaved Afric's son
Has Southron's power o'ercome,
Hail! we are free.

Rochester, Jan. 1, 1863. MRS. W. D. G.

KING COTTON.

King Cotton sat in his gloomy halls,
The floor was bare, and blank the walls,
His vassals were scattered and scared, and few
Remained with the tyrant, for well they
knew

That his days were numbered, and short, and
dread;

That ten thousand curses hung o'er his head;
And, like all other hirelings of sin and death,
Left their master to draw out his latest
breath.

In silence and darkness, with nought to cheer
His merited misery—sunless and drear.
Puffy and bloated, and filled with rage,
He cursed and swore in his loathsome cage:—
"Ingrates and rascals! will you not stay
To comfort your king, who many a day,
Has helped you to wring from your dusky
slaves

The blood-stained work that has filled the
graves

Of these ebony devils Olympus high,
And painted your soil with a crimson dye!"
No, no, old dotard, your time is gone,
And they will not return to cheer you on.
But let your infernal lust be stayed
By the havoc and waste you've already made
In the souls of men, round whose neck you've
cast

Your long and filmy arms of blast,
Which have reached o'er across the Atlantic's
wake,

And have made each cotton lord your stake.
Short triumphant, however, the strength you
boast

Will strangle you both, and both will be
lost.

Blood-stained and wretched, in ruin you'll
lie,

But a hateful power you will keep till you
die,

Of winding your soft but fatal fold
Round the necks of victims of cotton and gold,
With a hug so tight, so dire, so strong,
That nothing can save your kindom long;
But crushed and crumbling, your throne must
fall,

And bury King Cotton, his lords and all!
Edinburgh, Feb. 26, 1863. M. A. O.

The New Jersey Copperheads have added to their infamy by passing a law which forbids all negroes and mulattoes from residing in the State more than ten days, unless they be slaves bro't by their master, who is allowed to hold his property there as long as he pleases. That is to say, a gentleman may not sojourn in New Jersey 11 days with his free black servant; Mr. Webster for instance, with his George; but a slaveholder may bring as many of his chattels as he pleases. If the people of the State endorse such a vile law, they should be treated as their masters are in South Carolina—put under a military governor with an army of negro soldiers for his police. Why should treason be attacked in Charleston and spared in Trenton? Does Gen. McClellan favor such statutes.

NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD.

ON AND AFTER FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15TH, 1862, and until further notice, Trains will run as follows:

EASTWARD.

- 4:20 A. M., via Auburn Road. Stops at Victor, Canandaigua, Clifton, Phelps, Geneva, Waterloo, Seneca Falls, Cayuga, Shunpike, Auburn, Skaneateles, Half Way, Marcellus, and Camillus; arrives at Syracuse 8:55 A. M.
- 6:20 A. M., via Direct Road, Buffalo, Suspension Bridge and New York Express. Stops at Palmyra, Clyde, Port Byron, Syracuse 9:05; Chittenango, Rome, 10:25; Utica, 10:50; Little Falls, St. Johnsville, Fonda, Schenectady, 1:50 P. M.; Albany, 2:30; Troy, 2:45.
- 9:20 A. M., via Auburn Road. Stops at all stations; arrives at Syracuse 2:20 P. M.
- 10:45 A. M. via Direct Road, Buffalo and Albany Accommodation. Stops at all stations between Rochester and Albany, except Kirkville, Canaseraga, Wampsville and Green's Corners; arrives at Albany at 9:00.
- 1:10 P. M. via Auburn Road, Freight Accommodation. Stops at all stations, arrives at Syracuse 9:30 P. M.
- 3:15 P. M. via Direct Road, Way Mail to Syracuse. Stops at all stations; arrives at Syracuse 6:45 P. M.
- 6:20 P. M. via Auburn Road. Stops at all stations; arrives at Syracuse 11:15 P. M.
- 9:00 P. M. via Direct Road, Cleveland and Chicago Express. Stops at Palmyra, Lyons, Jordan, Syracuse, 12:00; Oneida, 1:00 A. M.; Rome 1:30; Utica, 2:10; Little Falls, 2:55; St. Johnsville 3:20; Fonda, 4:00; Schenectady, 5:20; Albany 6:00; Troy, 6:10.

WESTWARD.

- 8:15 A. M. New York Mail for Buffalo. Stops at Batavia and Lancaster, arrives at Buffalo 11:00 A. M.
- 8:15 A. M. New York Mail for Niagara Falls. Stop at Brockport, Murray, Albion, Medina, Gasport, Lockport, Pekin; arrives at Suspension Bridge 11:15, Niagara Falls 11:30 A. M.
- 11:30 A. M. Accommodation for Buffalo. Stops at all stations; arrives at Buffalo 2:30 P. M.
- 11:30 A. M. Accommodation for Niagara Falls. Stops at all stations; arrives at Suspension Bridge 3:00, Niagara Falls 3:15 P. M.
- 6:15 P. M. Albany and Buffalo Accommodation for Buffalo. Stops at all stations except Forks; arrives at Buffalo 9:15.
- 6:15 P. M. Albany and Suspension Bridge Accommodation. Stops at all stations; arrives at Suspension Bridge 9:40; Niagara Falls 9:55 P. M.
- 9:00 P. M. New York Express for Buffalo. Stops at Batavia; arrives at Buffalo 11:30 P. M.
- 9:00 P. M. New York Express for Niagara Falls. Stops at Brockport, Albion, Medina and Lockport; arrives at Suspension Bridge 11:45, Niagara Falls 12:00 P. M.

TRAINS ARRIVE.

- From Albany and Syracuse, via Direct Road—at 7:50 A. M., 6:55 P. M., 9:00 P. M.
Way Train from Syracuse, 11:00 A. M.
From Syracuse, via Auburn—11:20 A. M., 6:10 P. M., 11:10 P. M.
From Buffalo—6:00 A. M., 10:45 A. M., 6:15 P. M., 8:40 P. M.
From Niagara Falls—6:00 A. M., 10:45 A. M., 5:40 P. M., 8:40 P. M.

SUNDAY TRAINS.

- For Niagara Falls—8:15 A. M.
For Buffalo—8:15 A. M.
For Albany—9:00 P. M.

C. VIBBARD, Gen. Sup.
H. W. CHITTENDEN, Asst. Sup.
W. G. LAPHAM, Asst. Sup.
Asst. Sup.'s Office, Rochester.
December, 15, 1861.

THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNE, 1863.

THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNE, first issued in 1841, now in the twenty-second year, has obtained both a larger and a more widely diffused circulation than any other newspaper ever published in America. Though it has suffered, in common with other journals, from the volunteering and departure of tens of thousands of its patrons to serve in the War for the Union, its circulation on this 6th of December, 1862, is as follows:

DAILY.....50,125
SEMI-WEEKLY.....17,250
WEEKLY.....148,000

Aggregate.....215,375

Preeminently a journal of News and of Literature, THE TRIBUNE has political convictions,

which are well characterized by the single word REPUBLICAN. It is Republican in its hearty adhesion to the great truth that "God has made of one blood all nations of men"—in its assertion of the equal and inalienable rights of all men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—Republican in its steadfast, earnest, defiant hostility to every scheme and effort of the Slave Power, from the annexation of Texas to the great Rebellion, to grasp the empire of the New World and wield the resources of our country for its own aggrandizement—Republican in its antagonism to the aristocrats and despots of the Old World, who fondly hail in the perils and calamities suddenly thrust upon us by their American counterpart the overthrow and ruin of the Model Republic—Republican in its hope and trust, its faith and effort, that this atrocious Rebellion must result in the single overthrow of its plotters, and the firm establishment of equal rights and equal laws throughout the whole extent of our country, wherein Liberty and Union shall indeed be "one and inseparable" henceforth and forever.

THE TRIBUNE devotes attention in calmer times, and to some extent in these, to Education, Temperance, Agriculture, Inventions, and whatever else may minister to the spiritual and material progress and well-being of mankind; but for the present its energies and its columns are mainly devoted to the invigoration and success of the War for the Union. Its special correspondents accompany every considerable army and report every import incident of that great struggle which we trust is soon to result in the signal and conclusive triumph of the National arms and in the restoration of Peace and Thrift to our distracted, bleeding country. We believe that no otherwise can a fuller or more accurate view of the progress and character of this momentous conflict be obtained than through the regular perusal of our columns. And we earnestly solicit the cooperation of all friends of the National cause, which we regard and uphold as that of Universal Humanity, to aid us in extending its circulation.

TERMS.

The enormous increase in the price of printing paper and other materials used in printing newspapers, compel us to increase the price of THE TRIBUNE. Our new terms are:

DAILY TRIBUNE.

Single Copy.....3 cents.
Mail Subscribers, one year (311 issues).....\$8

SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE.

One Copy, one year (104 issues).....\$3.
Two Copies, one year.....\$5.
Five Copies, one year.....\$12.
Ten Copies one year.....\$22.50

An extra copy will be sent to clubs of twenty and over.

WEEKLY TRIBUNE.

One Copy, one year (52 issues).....\$2.
Three Copies, one year.....\$5.
Five Copies, one year.....\$8.
Ten Copies, one year.....\$15.

Any larger number, addressed to names of subscribers, \$1 50 each. An extra copy will be sent to every club of ten.

Twenty Copies, to one address, one year, \$25 and any larger number at same price. An extra copy will be sent to clubs of twenty. The clubs of thirty THE SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE will be sent. To clubs of fifty the DAILY TRIBUNE will be sent gratis.

THE TRIBUNE.

Tribune Buildings, New-York
When drafts can be procured it is much safer than to remit Bank Bills. The name of the Post-Office and State should in all cases be plainly written.

Subscribers who send money by Express, must prepay the Express charges, else it will be deducted from the remittance.

THE TRIBUNE ALMANAC

for 1863.

will be ready about Christmas.

IMPORTANT FACTS.

Constant writing for six months is done cheaper with Gold Pens than with Steel Pens; therefore it is economy to use Gold Pens.

The gold pen remains unchanged by years of continued use, while the steel pen is ever changing by corrosion and wear; therefore perfect uniformity of writing is obtained only by the use of the gold pen.

The gold pen always ready and reliable, while the steel pen must be often condemned and a new one selected, therefore there is great saving of time in the use of the gold pen.

Gold is capable of receiving any degree of elasticity, so that the gold pen is exactly adapted to the hand of the writer; therefore the nerves of the hand and arm are not injured, as it is known to be the case by the use of steel pens.

Improvement made in the machinery for manufacturing gold pens, and secured to the subscriber by letters patent, have enabled him to overcome the many imperfections hitherto unavoidable in their production, and also to bring the cost within the reach of all.

He is now selling gold pens at prices varying from 25 cents to \$1, according to size, the average wear of every one of which will far outlast a gross of the best steel pens.

Sold by all dealers in the line throughout the country. Wholesale and retail at the store, No. 25 Maiden Lane, where all orders, inclosing cash or postage stamps will receive prompt attention, and a pen or pens corresponding in value, and selected according to description will immediately be sent by mail or otherwise as directed.

Any one sending a single letter post stamp will receive a circular with "ac-simile" engravings of all sizes and prices. Address

MORTON, 25 Maiden Lane, New York

The Future of Africa:

MISCELLANIES: BY REV. ALEX. CRUMMELL, B.A. OF LIBERIA, AFRICA.

THE UNDERSIGNED proposes to issue in a 12 mo. volume, of about 300 pages. Orations, Addresses, and other Papers, mostly prepared for National and Missionary occasions in Liberia, West Africa; and pertaining to National Life and Duty.

The following is a list of the articles:

1. The English Language in Liberia.
2. The Duty of a Rising Christian State to contribute to the World's Well-being and Civilization.

3. Address on laying the Corner Stone of St. Mark's Hospital, Cape Palmas.

P. S. The following names have been readily obtained, within a very few days, in the city of Philadelphia, mostly for ten copies:

Rev. A. Potter, D.D. Rev. Albert Barnes,
Benjamin Coates, Esq., Rev. S. H. Tyng, D.D.,
Mrs. Eli K. Price, of New York,
Rev. J. W. Crockett, John Welsh, Esq.,
John S. Crozier, Esq., Samuel Welsh, Esq.,
Hon. Edward Coles, Rev. T. S. Malcom,
Rev. B. T. Noakes, Hon. G. W. Woodward,
A. R. Cope, John Bohlen, Esq.,
Anthony P. Morris, W. Parker Foulke, Esq.

TERMS OF DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

Single Copies, to American subscribers, \$1 per year, 6s. sterling.

Subscriptions must be paid for in advance.

All communications, whether on business or for publication, should be addressed to

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, Rochester, N. Y.

AGENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

We take the liberty of using the names of the following gentlemen who will receive names and subscriptions for Douglass' Monthly in Great Britain:

Halfax—Rev. RUSSELL LANE, CANTON, White Place.
Dublin—Mr. Wm. Wren, 52, High Street, and 3, D'Almeida Avenue, Rathmines.
Derby—Dr. BREWSTER T. HALL, Burton Road.
Glasgow—Mr. JOHN SMITH, 173, Trongate.
Leeds—Mr. ARTHUR HOLLAND, 4, Park Row.
Croydon—Mr. WALTER S. FAIRBANKS, 10, Croydon Road.
Newcastle-on-Tyne—Mr. WALTER S. FAIRBANKS, 10, Croydon Road.

OFFICERS FOR NEGRO REGIMENTS.—We understand that officers for three negro regiments have already been designated at New York, and that others will immediately receive their commissions. These officers will proceed South, within a week or two, to assume their respective commands. It is thought that under the conscription orders of Gen. Hunter, a sufficient number of black soldiers will be obtained to form at least half a dozen regiments. Of their bravery no reasonable doubt can be entertained.